ANECDOTES

OF

PAINTING IN ENGLAND;

With ſome Account of the principal Artiſts;

And incidental NOTES on other ARTS;

Collected by the late

Mr. GEORGE VERTUE;

And now digeſted and publiſhed from his original MSS.

By Mr. HORACE WALPOLE.

The FOURTH EDITION, with ADDITIONS.

Multa renaſcentur quæ jam cecidere.

VOL. I.

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M.DCC.LXXXVI.

1786.

To the Right Honourable

MARY LEPEL,

Baroneſs Dowager HERVEY
of Ickworth.

MADAM,

I Shall only ſay in excuſe for offering this work to your Ladyſhip, that if I could write any thing really deſerving your acceptance, I ſhould not prefix your name to ſuch trifles as the following ſheets. But my gratitude for the goodneſs and unmerited diſtinction which your Ladyſhip has ſo long ſhown me, is impatient to expreſs itſelf; and though in the preſent caſe I am rather an editor than an author, yet having little purpoſe of appearing again in the latter character, I am forced to pay my debts to your Ladyſhip with

with Mr. Vertue's coin. If his induſtry has amaſſed any thing that can amuſe one or two of your idle hours, when neither affection, friendſhip, nor the ſeveral duties which you fill with ſo much eaſe and dignity, have any demands upon you, I ſhall think his life was well employed; I am ſure my time will have been ſo, if I have made him tolerable company to my Lady Hervey; who has converſed familiarly with the moſt agreeable perſons dead and living of the moſt poliſhed ages, and moſt poliſhed nations.

I am, MADAM,

your Ladyſhip's,

moſt obedient ſervant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

PREFACE.

WHEN one offers to the public the labours of another perſon, it is allowable and precedented to expatiate in praiſe of the work. Of this indulgence however I ſhall not make advantage. The induſtry of Mr. Vertue was ſufficiently known; the antiquarian world had ſingular obligations to him. The many valuable monuments relating to our hiſtory, and to the perſons of our monarchs and great men, which he ſaved from oblivion, are laſting evidences of his merit. What thanks are due to him for the materials of the following ſheets, the public muſt determine. So far from endeavouring to prepoſſeſs them in favour of the work, it ſhall be my part fairly to tell them what they muſt expect.

In Italy, where the art of painting has been carried to an amazing degree of perfection, the lives of the painters have been written in numberleſs volumes, alone ſufficient to compoſe a little library. Every picture of every conſiderable maſter is minutely deſcribed. Thoſe biographers treat of the works of Raphael and Correggio with

as much importance as commentators ſpeak of Horace or Virgil; and indulging themſelves in the inflated ſtyle of their language, they talk of pictures as works almoſt of a divinity, while at the ſame time they lament them as periſhing before their eyes. France, neither poſſeſſed of ſuch maſters, nor ſo hyperbolic in their diction, contrives however to ſupply by vanity what is wanting in either. Pouſſin is their miracle of genius; Le Brun would diſpute precedence with half the Roman ſchool. A whole volume is written even on the life and works of Mignard. Voltaire, who underſtands almoſt every thing, and who does not ſuſpect that judgment in painting is one of his deficiences, ſpeaks ridiculouſly in commendation of ſome of their performers.

This country, which does not always err in vaunting its own productions, has not a ſingle volume to ſhow on the works of its painters. In truth, it has very rarely given birth to a genius in that profeſſion. Flanders and Holland have ſent us the greateſt men that we can boaſt. This very circumſtance may with reaſon prejudice the reader againſt a work, the chief buſineſs of which muſt be to celebrate the arts of a country

country which has produced ſo few good artiſts. This objection is ſo ſtriking, that inſtead of calling it *The Lives of Engliſh Painters*, I have ſimply given it the title of *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. As far as it anſwers that term, perhaps it will be found curious. The indefatigable pains of Mr. Vertue left nothing unexplored that could illuminate his ſubject, and collaterally led him to many particularities that are at leaſt amuſing: I call them no more, nor would I adviſe any man, who is not fond of curious trifles, to take the pains of turning over theſe leaves. From the antiquary I expect greater thanks; he is more cheaply pleaſed than a common reader: the one demands to be diverted, at leaſt inſtructed—the other requires only to be informed.

Mr Vertue had for ſeveral years been collecting materials for this work: He converſed and correſponded with moſt of the virtuoſi in England; he was perſonally acquainted with the oldeſt performers in the ſcience; he minuted down every thing he heard from them. He viſited every collection, made catalogues of them, attended ſales, copied every paper he could find relative to the art, ſearched offices, regiſters

of pariſhes and regiſters of wills for births and deaths, turned over all our own authors, and tranſlated thoſe of other countries which related to his ſubject. He wrote down every thing he heard, ſaw, or read. His collections amounted to near forty volumes large and ſmall: In one of his pocket-books I found a note of his firſt intention of compiling ſuch a work; it was in 1713; he continued it aſſiduouſly to his death in 1757. Theſe MSS. I bought of his widow after his deceaſe; and it will perhaps ſurprize the reader to find how near a compleat work is offered to him, though the reſearch was commenced at ſo late a period: I call it commenced; what little had been done before on this ſubject, was ſo far from aſſiſtance, it was ſcarce of uſe. The ſketch, called, *An Eſſay towards an Engliſh School*, at the end of the tranſlation of Depiles, is as ſuperficial as poſſible; nor could a fact ſcarce be borrowed from it 'till we come to very modern times. In general I have been ſcrupulous in acknowledging both Mr. Vertue's debts and my own. The catalogues of the works of Hollar and Simon, and thoſe of the collection of King Charles I. King James II. and the Duke of Buckingham,

ham, were part of Mr. Vertue's original plan, which is now compleated by theſe volumes.

The compiler had made ſeveral draughts of a beginning, and ſeveral lives he had written out, but with no order, no connection, no accuracy; nor was his ſtyle clear or correct enough to be offered to the reader in that unpoliſhed form. I have been obliged to compoſe a-new every article, and have recurred to the original fountains from whence he drew his information; I mean, where it was taken from books. The indigeſted method of his collections, regiſtered occaſionally as he learned every circumſtance, was an additional trouble, as I was forced to turn over every volume many and many times, as they laid in confuſion, to collect the articles I wanted; and for the ſecond and third parts, containing between three and four hundred names, I was reduced to compoſe an index myſelf to the forty volumes. One ſatisfaction the reader will have, in the integrity of Mr. Vertue, it exceeded his induſtry, which is ſaying much. No man living, ſo bigotted to a vocation, was ever ſo incapable of falſhood. He did not deal even in hypotheſis, ſcarce

in conjecture. He viſited, and reviſited every picture, every monument, that was an object of his reſearches; and being ſo little a ſlave to his own imagination, he was cautious of truſting to that of others. In his memorandums he always put a quaere againſt whatever was told him of ſuſpicious aſpect; and never gave credit to it 'till he received the fulleſt ſatisfaction. Thus whatever trifles the reader finds, he will have the comfort of knowing that the greateſt part at leaſt are of moſt genuine authority. Whenever I have added to the compiler's ſtores, I have generally taken care to quote as religiouſly the ſource of my intelligence. Here and there I have tried to enliven the dryneſs of the ſubject by inſerting facts not totally foreign to it. Yet upon the whole I deſpair of its affording much entertainment. The public have a title to whatever was deſigned for them: I offer this to them as a debt—nobody will ſuſpect that I ſhould have choſen ſuch a ſubject for fame.

If the obſervation of a dearth of great names in this liſt ſhould excite emulation, and tend to produce abler maſters, Mr. Vertue, I believe, and I ſhould be glad to have the continuation of the work do greater ho-

nour to our country. It would be difficult perhaps to aſſign a phyſical reaſon, why a nation that produced Shakeſpear, ſhould owe its glory in another walk of genius to Holbein and Vandyck. It cannot be imputed to want of protection: Who countenanced the arts more than Charles the Firſt? That Prince, who is cenſured for his want of taſte in penſioning Quarles, is celebrated by the ſame pen for employing Bernini—but want of protection is the apology for want of genius: Milton and Fontaine did not write in the baſk of court-favour. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection: They can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils. Mr. Hogarth has received no honours, but univerſal admiration.

But whatever has been the complaint formerly, we have ground to hope that a new æra is receiving its date. Genius is countenanced, and emulation will follow. Nor is it a bad indication of the flouriſhing ſtate of a country, that it daily makes improvements in arts and ſciences. They may be attended by luxury, but they certainly are produced by wealth and happineſs. The conveniences, the decorations of life are

not ſtudied in Siberia, or under a Nero. If ſevere morality would at any time expect to eſtabliſh a thorough reformation, I fear it muſt chuſe inhoſpitabale climates, and aboliſh all latitude from the laws. A corporation of merchants would never have kept their oaths to Lycurgus of obſerving his ſtatutes 'till he returned. A good government, that indulges its ſubjects in the exerciſe of their own thoughts, will ſee a thouſand inventions ſpringing up, refinements will follow, and much pleaſure and ſatisfaction will be produced at leaſt before that exceſs arrives, which is ſo juſtly ſaid to be the forerunner of ruin. But all this is in the common courſe of things, which tend to perfection, and then degenerate. He would be a very abſurd legiſlator, who ſhould pretend to ſet bounds to his country's welfare, leſt it ſhould periſh by knowing no bounds. Poverty will ſtint itſelf; riches muſt be left to their own diſcretion; they depend upon trade, and to circumſcribe trade is to annihilate it. It is not rigid nor Roman to ſay it, but a people had better be unhappy by their own fault, than by that of their government. A *Cenſor morum* is not a much greater bleſſing than an *Arbiter elegantiarum*.

The

The world, I believe, is not at all agreed that the auſterities of the Preſbyterians were preferable to the licentiouſneſs under Charles II. I pretend to defend the one no more than the other; but I am ſure that in the body politic, ſymptoms that prognoſticate ill, may indicate well. All I meaned to ſay was, that the diſpoſition to improvements in this country is the conſequence of its vigour. The eſtabliſhment of a ſociety for the encouragement of arts will produce great benefits before they are perverted to miſchiefs. The bounties beſtowed by that ſociety, for facilitating the neceſſaries of life to the poor, for encouraging the uſe of our own drugs and materials, or for naturalizing thoſe of other countries, are beſtowed on noble principles and with patriot views. That ſociety does not neglect even the elegancies of life: Arts that are innocent in themſelves, and beneficial to the country, either by adding value to our productions, or by drawing riches as they invite ſtrangers to viſit us, are worthy the attention of good citizens; and in all thoſe lights that ſociety acts upon a national and extenſive plan.

The art, that is chiefly the ſubject of theſe pages, is one of the leaſt likely to be perverted:

perverted: Painting has ſeldom been employed to any bad purpoſe. Pictures are but the ſcenery of devotion. 'I queſtion if Raphael himſelf could ever have made one convert, though he had exhauſted all the expreſſion of his eloquent pencil on a ſeries of popiſh doctrines and miracles. Pictures cannot adapt themſelves to the meaneſt capacities, as unhappily the tongue can. Nonſenſe may make an apprentice a catholic or a methodiſt; but the apprentice would ſee that a very bad picture of St. Francis was not like truth; and a very good picture would be above his feeling. Pictures may ſerve as helps to religion; but are only an appendix to idolatry; for the people muſt be taught to believe in falſe gods and in the power of ſaints, before they will learn to worſhip their images. I do not doubt but if ſome of the firſt reformers had been at liberty to ſay exactly what they thought, and no more than they thought, they would have permitted one of the moſt ingenious arts implanted in the heart of man by the Supreme Being to be employed towards his praiſe. But Calvin by his tenure, as head of a ſect, was obliged to go all lengths. The vulgar will not liſt but for total contradictions:

tions: They are not ſtruck by ſeeing religion ſhaded only a little darker or a little lighter. It was at Conſtantinople alone where the very ſhopkeepers had ſubtlety enough to fight for a letter more or leſs in a Greek adjective * that expreſſed an abſtract idea. Happily at this time there is ſo total an extinction of all party-animoſity both in religion and politics, that men are at liberty to propoſe whatever may be uſefull to their country, without its being imputed to them as a crime, and to invent what they mean ſhould give pleaſure without danger of diſpleaſing by the very attempt.

At this epoch of common ſenſe, one may reaſonably expect to ſee the arts flouriſh to as proud a height as they attained at Athens, Rome, or Florence. Painting has hitherto made but faint efforts in England. Our eloquence and the glory of our arms have been carried to the higheſt pitch. The more peacefull arts have in other countries generally attended national glory. If there

* In the decline of the empire there were two ſects who proceeded to the greateſt violences againſt each other in the diſpute whether the nature of the ſecond perſon was Ὁμοούσιος, co-eſſentialis; or ὁμοιούσιος, ſimilis eſſentiae.

are

are any talents among us, this ſeems the criſis for their appearance: The Throne itſelf is now the altar of the graces, and whoever ſacrifices to them becomingly, is ſure that his offerings will be ſmiled upon by a Prince, who is at once the example and patron of accompliſhments. The inſtitution of a ſchool of ſtatuary in the houſe of a young * Nobleman of the firſt rank rivals the boaſted munificence of foreign Princes. When we abound with heroes, orators and patrons, it will be hard if their images are not tranſmitted to poſterity under graceſull repreſentations.

This is by no means ſaid to depreciate the artiſts we have, but to inſpire with emulation thoſe ariſing. Ryſbrack, Roubiliac, Scheemaker, Wilton, would do honour to any country: but hitherto their ſkill has been in a manner confined to private monuments. When we have ſubjects for hiſtory, the people ſhould read on public edifices the actions of their anceſtors and fellow-citizens in baſreliefs: Buſts and ſtatues ſhould reward the galant behaviour of the brave, and exhibit them as models. What made Rome more venerable than every

* The Duke of Richmond.

ſtreet

ſtreet being an illuſtration of Livy? Painting has been circumſcribed within as ſelfiſh bounds as ſtatuary; hiſtoric compoſitions totally neglected. Reynolds and Ramſay have wanted ſubjects, not genius. There is another artiſt, who ſeems born for an age of naval glory, and is equal to it, Mr. Scott. Architecture, the moſt ſuitable field in which the genius of a people, arrived at ſuperiority, may range, ſeems reviving. The taſte and ſkill of Mr. Adam is formed for public works. Mr. Chambers's treatiſe * is the moſt ſenſible book and the moſt exempt from prejudices that ever was written on that ſcience. But of all the works that diſtinguiſh this age, none perhaps excell thoſe beautifull editions of Balbec and Palmyra — not publiſhed at the command of a Louis quatorze, or at the expence of a cardinal nephew, but undertaken by private curioſity and good ſenſe, and truſted to the taſte of a poliſhed nation. When I endeavour to do juſtice to the editions of Palmyra and Balbec, I would not confine the encomium to the ſculptures; the books have far higher merit. The modeſt deſcriptions †

* On civil architecture, folio, 1759.

† By Mr. Wood.

prefixed

prefixed are ſtandards of writing: The exact meaſure of what ſhould and ſhould not be ſaid, and of what was neceſſary to be known, was never comprehended in more clear diction, or more elegant ſtile. The pomp of the buildings has not a nobler air than the ſimplicity of the narration—but I muſt reſtrain myſelf; tho' it is pleaſing to expatiate on the juſt praiſe of one's country; and they who cannot perform great things themſelves, may yet have a ſatisfaction in doing juſtice to thoſe who can. If Juvenal was honeſt in his ſatires, he would have been happy if he could have lived to write the panegyric of Trajan.

1762.

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ANECDOTES

ANECDOTES OF PAINTING, &c.

CHAP. I.

The earlieſt Accounts of Painting in England.

THEY who undertake to write the Hiſtory of any art, are fond of carrying it's origine as far back as poſſible. When This tends to ſhow the improvements made in it, by comparing latter works with the firſt rude inventions, it may be of ſervice; but it often happens that the Hiſtorian thinks the antiquity of a diſcovery reflects honour on his country, though perhaps his country has been ſo careleſs or has wanted genius ſo much, as to have refined very little on the original hints. Some men puſh this farther, and venerate the firſt dawn-

ings of an art more than it's productions in a riper age. The inventor may have had more genius, but the performances of the improver muſt be more perfect. Mr. Vertue had taken great pains to prove that painting exiſted in England before the reſtoration of it in Italy by Cimabue. If what we poſſeſſed of it in thoſe ignorant times could be called painting, I ſuppoſe Italy and every nation in Europe retained enough of the deformity of the art to conteſt with us in point of antiquity. That We had gone backwards in the ſcience farther almoſt than any other country, is evident from our coins, on which there is no more of human ſimilitude, than an infant's firſt ſcrawl of the profile of a face; and ſo far therefore as badneſs of drawing approaches to antiquity of ignorance, we may lay in our claim to very ancient poſſeſſion. As Italy has ſo long excelled us in the refinement of the art, ſhe may leave us the enjoyment of original imperfection.

However, as Mr. Vertue's partiality flowed from love of his country, and as this is deſigned for a work of curioſity, not of ſpeculation and reaſoning, I ſhall faithfully lay before

before the reader ſuch materials as that laborious antiquary had amaſſed for deducing the Hiſtory of Engliſh Painting from a very early period.

The * firſt evidences in favour of the art are drawn from our records †, which Mr.

* Dr. Thorpe M. D. when writing his hiſtory of the town and dioceſe of Rocheſter, diſcovered at the weſt end of that cathedral two buſts of Henry I. and his queen in ſtone, which had never been obſerved before.

† Since the firſt edition of this work, I have been informed by a curious gentleman, that the earlieſt place in a catalogue of Engliſh painters is due to St. Wolſtan biſhop of Worceſter in 1062, or at leaſt to Ervenius or Erwen, his maſter. William of Malmſbury, who wrote the life of Wolſtan in three books, gives the following account; "Habebat tunc [Wolſtanus] magiſtrum Ervenium nomine, inſcribendo et quidlibet coloribus effingendo peritum. Is libros ſcriptos, ſacramentarium & pſalterium, quorum principales litteras auro effigiaverit, puero Wolſtano delegandos curavit. Ille precioſorum apicum captus miraculo, dum pulchritudinem intentis oculis rimatur, ſcientiam litterarum internis hauſit medullis. Verum doctor ad ſæculi ſpectans commodum, ſpe majoris premii, ſacramentarium regi, tunc temporis Cnutoni, pſalſterium Emmæ reginæ contribuit. Perculit puerilem animum facti diſpendium, & ex imo pectore alta traxit ſuſpiria." If this paſſage is not ſufficient authority, as I think it is not, o prove St. Wolſtan a painter, at leaſt it is deciſive for Ervenius, who was certainly an illuminator of MSS.

Vertue had carefully conſulted. There he found the following entries *;

" MCCXXVIII, Ao. 12. Hen. III. m. ſ. " Rex theſ. et camer. ſuis ſalutem. Libe- " rate cuidam pictori 20*s.* ad cameram mag- " ni ſcaccarii depingendam."

This does not expreſs the kind; whether the chamber was to be painted with figures, ornaments, &c. or whether the *Quidam Pictor* was not a meer houſe-painter; probably an artiſt of higher rank, as twenty ſhillings would have been a great price in that age for painting wainſcot. However the next record is more explicit, and aſcertains the point in queſtion.

* There are two records more ancient than any that follow; but they relate to architecture, not painting; however, as not foreign to this work, I ſhall inſert them here: They are both of the reign of King JOHN:

" Anno, 1209, Vicecomites Lond. et Midl. alloca- " verunt Elyae ingeniatori x marcas, ad reperationem " domorum regis apud Weſtmonaſt. per breve H. Ar- " chiep. Cantuar."

Anno, 1210, Willelmus Puintellus redd. comp. de 1216*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* quos " recepit de theſauro ad opera- " tiones turris Londoniae."

William Puintell might be only a ſurveyor, but Elyas was certainly an architect.

" MCCXXXIII.

" MCCXXXIII. Liberate A°. 17. HEN. " III. m. 6. Mandatum eſt Vicecomiti " Southton. quòd cameram regis * lambruſ- " catam de Caſtro Winton. depingi faciat " eiſdem hiſtoriis et picturis quibus fuerat " prius depicta. Et cauſtum, &c. computabi- " tur. Teſte rege apud Kideminiſtr. iii die " Junii."

There are more remarkable circumſtances than one in this venerable ſcrap: as, the ſimplicity of the times; the king ſending a precept to the ſheriff of Hampſhire to have a chamber in the royal caſtle painted; and his majeſty, like the Roman general, who threatened his ſoldiers if they broke any of the antique Corinthian ſtatues that they ſhould pay for having others made, giving orders to the ſame ſheriff to have the chamber repainted with the ſame pictures and hiſtories with which it had been adorned before; and which, by the way, implies, that hiſtory-painting had been in uſe ſtill longer than this date, which was the earlieſt Mr. Vertue could diſcover †.

* *Lambruſcatam*, wainſcotted, from the French, *Lambris*.

† Some have aſcribed the introduction of painting into this iſland to venerable Bede.

" Liberate A°. 17. HEN. III. m. 10. Man-
" datum eſt cuſtodi domorum regis de
" Wudeſtok quod in rotundâ capellâ regis de
" Wudeſtok bonis coloribus depingi faciat
" majeſtatem domini et iiii Evangeliſtas, et
" imaginem ſancti Edmundi ex unâ parte, et
" imaginem ſancti Edwardi ex aliâ parte, et
" ib fieri faciat duas * verimas novas."

" Rot. Clauſ. 20. HEN. III. m. 12. Man-
" datum eſt theſaurario regis, quod magnam
" cameram regis apud Weſtm. bono viridi
" colore depingi faciat ad modum curtanae et
" in magno gabulo ejuſdem camerae juxta
" hoſtium (oſtium) depingi ludum illum

" † Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne pret ke deſire ;

" et etiam parvam garderobam regis viridi
" colore ad modum curtanae depingi fa-
" ciat : ita quod rex in primo adventu ſuo
" illuc inveniat predictas cameram et gar-

* *Verimas*, a barbarous word, not to be found even in Dufreſne's gloſſary. One cannot help obſerving the abſurdity of thoſe times, in couching orders in a language which they could not write, and addreſſed to perſons by whom it was not underſtood.

† Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il deſire ; or, as it is expreſſed in another record, Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat.

" derobam

" derobam ita depictas et ornatas, ſicut
" predictum eſt."

" Rot. Clauſ. A°. 20. HEN. III. m. 12.
" Mandatum eſt H. de Pateſhull theſaurario
" domini regis, quod borduram a tergo
" ſedis regis in capellâ ſancti Stephani apud
" Weſtm. et borduram a tergo ſedis re-
" ginae ex aliâ parte ejuſdem capellae in-
" terius et exterius depingi faciat de viridi
" colore: juxta ſedem ipſius reginae de-
" pingi faciat quandam crucem cum Majâ
" et Johanne ex oppoſito crucis regis, quae
" juxta ſedem regis depicta eſt. T. vii.
" die Febr."

The next record, which has been mentioned by Stowe, gives directions for repairing the granary under the Tower, and all the leaden gutters, and for leading the whole thoroughly on that ſide, *per quas gentes videre poſſint*, and for white-waſhing the chapel of St. John, and for making three glaſs windows in the ſame chapel, in which were to be repreſented, a little Virgin Mary holding the child, and the Trinity and St. John the Apoſtle. It gives orders too that (Patibulum) a croſs ſhould be painted behind the altar, *bene et bonis colo-*

ribus; and where ever it could be done moſt conveniently, there were to be drawn in the ſame chapel two images of St. Edward holding out a ring and delivering it to St. John the Evangeliſt. " Et dealbari " faciatis, adds the record, totum veterem " murum circa ſepedictam turrim noſtram. " Et cuſtum quod ad hoc poſueritis, per " viſum et teſtimonium legalium hominum, " computabitur vobis ad ſcaccarium. Teſte " rege apud Windeſor. x. die Decembr."

It is evident from this and ſome following paſſages that as * painting on glaſs was then known, the art of painting in general could not be at a very low ebb.

Then follows another, regarding the ſame place; " Rex eiſdem ſalutem. Praecipimus " vobis quod cancellum beatae Mariae in " eccleſiâ ſancti Petri infra ballium turris " noſtrae London. et cancellum beati Petri " in eadem eccleſia, et ab introitu cancelli " beati Petri uſque ad ſpatium quatuor pe- " dum ultra ſtallos ad opus noſtrum et regi-

* In Aubrey's MS. ſurvey of Wiltſhire, in the library of the Royal Society, he ſays, on the authority of Sir W. Dugdale, that the firſt painted glaſs in England was done in king John's time. Vol. ii, p. [illegible].

" nae

" nae noſtrae in eadem eccleſia factos bene
" et decenter labruſcari faciatis, et eoſdem
" ſtallos depingi, et Mariolam cum ſuo ta-
" bernaculo et ymagines beatorum Petri,
" Nicolai et Katerinae, et trabem ultra
" altare beati Petri, et parvum patibulum
" cum ſuis ymaginibus de novo colorari, et
" bonis coloribus refreſcari, et fieri faciatis
" quandam ymaginem de beato Petro in
" ſolempni apparatu archiepiſcopali in parte
" boreali ultra dictum altare, et de opti-
" mis coloribus depingi; et quandam yma-
" ginem de ſancto Chriſtofero tenentem et
" portantem Jeſum, ubi melius et decen-
" tius fieri poteſt, et depingi in praedicta
" eccleſia. Et fieri faciatis duas tabulas
" pulcras et de optimis coloribus et de
" hiſtoriis beatorum Nicolai et Katerinae
" depingi ante altaria dictorum ſanctorum
" in eadem eccleſia; et duos cherumbinos
" ſtantes a dextris et a ſiniſtris magni pa-
" tibuli pulcros fieri faciatis in praedicta
" eccleſia cum hilari vultu et jocoſo; et
" praeterea unum fontem marmoreum cum
" colompnis marmoreis bene et decenter
" inciſis. Et cuſtum, &c. Teſte ut ſu-
" pra."

The

The next again ſpecifies the ſum to be expended on paintings at Weſtminſter: "Rot. Liberat. A°. 21. HEN. III. m. 5. Rex "theſaurario et camerariis ſuis ſalutem. "Liberate de theſauro noſtra Odoni auri- "fabro cuſtodi operationis noſtrae Weſtm. "quatuor libras et undecim ſolidos ad "picturas faciendas in camera noſtra ibi- "dem. Teſte rege apud Weſtm. ii die "Auguſti."

The next contains the firſt mention we have of a ſtar-chamber.

"Liberat. A°. 22. HEN. III. m. 3. Man- "datum eſt vic. Southampt. quod came- "ram apud Winton colorari faciat viridi "colore, et *ſtellari* auro, in quibus de- "pingantur hiſtoriae veteris et novi teſta- "menti."

The next precept is very remarkable, as implying the uſe of oil-colours *, long be-

* John ab Eyck the ſuppoſed inventor of painting in oil, which He was ſaid to diſcover in a ſearch for varniſh, died in 1441. In the record before us, both oil and varniſh are mentioned, and the former might indeed be only uſed in the compoſition of the latter. Mr. Raſpe, in his curious treatiſe publiſhed in 1781, has proved that oil-painting was known long before its pretended diſcovery by Van Eyck.

fore

fore that method is ſuppoſed to have been diſcovered. It is dated in his 23d year, 1239, and runs in theſe words;

" Rex theſaurario et camerariis ſuis ſa-
" lutem. Liberate de theſauro noſtro Odoni
" aurifabro et Edwardo filio ſuo centum et
" ſeptemdecem ſolidos et decem denarios
" pro oleo, vernici, & coloribus emptis, et
" picturis factis in camerâ reginae noſtrae
" apud Weſtm. ab octavis ſanctae trinitatis
" anno regni noſtri xxiii uſque ad feſtum
" ſancti Barnabae apoſtoli eodem anno, ſci-
" licet per xv dies."

There is another mandate of his 25th year, for two windows with pictures in the hall, and with the motto above mentioned, of which I do not know that any of our antiquaries have taken notice.

The two following precepts are ſo connected with the foregoing, that though relating only to building not to painting, I ſhall inſert them here, as their moſt proper place.

" A°. 28. HEN. III. Mandatum eſt vice-
" comiti Kanciae quod ſub omni qua po-
" terit feſtinatione emi faciat et cariari uſque
" Weſtmon.

" Weſtmon. 100 navatas griſiae petrae ad " operationes quas ibi ſine dilatione fieri rex " praecepit: et talem et tam feſtinantem " diligentiam ad hoc mandatum regis exe- " quendum ponat, quod ſe inde rex com- " mendare debeat: et ne W. de Haverhull " theſaurarius et Edwardus, quibus opera- " tiones praedictas rex injunxit faciendas, " culpam dilationis in ſe refundere poſſint, ſi " praedictae operationes contra voluntatem " regis differantur."

" Rex dedit et conceſſit Deo et beato " Edwardo et eccleſiae Weſtmonaſterii ad " fabricam ipſius eccleſiae 2591 libras, in " quibus regi tenetur Licoricia, quae fuit " uxor David de Oxonio Judaei. Et rex " vult quod pecunia illa reddatur ad novum " ſcaccarium, quod rex ad hoc conſti- " tuit apud Weſtmonaſterium, archidiacono " Weſtmonaſterii, et Edwardo de Weſtmin- " ſtre, quos ejuſdem ſcaccarii theſaurarios " aſſignavit. Teſte rege apud Windſore."

The miſerable Latin of theſe orders is not the moſt curious part of them. The hundred barge loads of grey ſtone to be purchaſed by the ſheriff of Kent might be-

be either from a Kentiſh quarry, or to be imported from the coaſt of France. The king's great impatience about his new works, and the large fine from a Jew's widow which he beſtows on his new edifice, are very obſervable. But the moſt memorable is the origine of the Exchequer, which ſeems by this precept to have been inſtituted ſolely for the carrying on the new building at Weſtminſter.

The next is in the year 1248. "Rex "vicecomiti Southamtoniae ſalutem. Prae- "cipimus tibi quod de exitibus comitatus "tui depingi facias in capella reginae "noſtrae apud Wintoniam ſuper gabu- "lum verſus occidentem ymaginem ſancti "Chriſtoferi, ſicut alibi depingitur; in ul- "nis ſuis deferat Chriſtum; et ymaginem "beati Edwardi regis, qualiter tradidit "annulum ſuum cuidam peregrino, cujus "ymago ſimiliter depingatur. Teſte rege "apud Windeſore vii die Maii."

Another. "Rex cuſtodi manerii de "Wudeſtoke praecepit, ut inter alia fieri "faciat duas feneſtras de albo vitro, et fe- "neſtram aulae verſus orientem, ſimiliter "cum picturâ ejus aulae emendari faciat. "Quoddam etiam ſcaccarium fieri faciat in

" eadem aulâ, quod contineat hunc verſum,
" qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille
" quod optat."

" Clauſ. 33. HEN. III. m. 3. Rex in-
" junxit magiſtro Johanni de ſancto Omero
" quod garderobam camerae regis apud
" Weſtm. perpingi faceret ſicut pictura
" illius garderobae inchoatur, et quod fa-
" ceret unum lectrinum ponendum in novo
" capitulo Weſtm. ad ſimilitudinem illius
" quod eſt in capitulo ſancti Albani, vel
" decentius et pulcrius, ſi fieri poterit; et
" ad haec facienda colores et maeremium
" et neceſſarias liberationes uſque ad ad-
" ventum regis London. ei inveniri faceret.
" Et cuſtum ad haec appoſitum, cum rex
" illud ſciverit, reddi faciet. Et mandatum
" eſt abbati Weſtm. Edwardo filio Odonis,
" et Philippo Luvel, quod liberationes et
" alia neceſſaria ſupra inveniri fac. Teſte
" rege apud Windeſore xxiii die Septembr."

In Henry's 34th year Edward of Weſtminſter is ordered to have painted in the chapel of St. Stephen the images of the apoſtles round about the ſaid chapel, by the following precept;

" Clauſ.

" Clauſ. 54. HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum " eſt Edwardo * de Weſtm. quod in ca- " pella beati Stephani depingi faciat ima-

* This Edward of Weſtminſter is the ſame perſon with Edward Fitz-Odo mentioned in the preceding order, and I ſuppoſe ſon of Odo Aurifaber, recorded above. It appears by Dart's Hiſtory of the Abbey that he was maſter of the works; and Dart quotes the records in the tower on the authority of Strype. The whole paſſage is worth tranſcribing, as it ſhows the paſſion of Henry for adorning his new foundation there, called then, The new work at Weſtminſter †.

" In the 28th of his reign he commanded Edward Fitz-Odo to make a dragon, in manner of a ſtandard or enſign, of red ſamit, to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear, as though continually moving, and his eyes of ſapphire, or other ſtones agreeable to him, to be placed in this church againſt the king's coming thither.

" And the queen ſet up in the ſeretry of St. Edward the image of the bleſſed Virgin Mary; and the king cauſed the aforeſaid Edward Fitz-Odo, keeper of his works at Weſtminſter, to place upon her forchead for ornament, an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the biſhop of Chicheſter had left the king for a legacy." Dart. vol. i. p. 26. edit. 1742 ‡.

† Ducheſne, antiq. France, vol. i. p. 145, ſays the Louvre was ſo called from l'oeuvre, the new work.

‡ The Fitz-Othos were Germans, brought over by Henry Iſt; and the family roſe to ſuch eminence, that Thomas, ſon of William, married a daughter of W. Beauchamp, baron of Bedford, &c. Of William is a curious ſeal, as Mint-maſter, in Nichols's Biblioth. Topograph. N° XX. p. 63.

" gines

" gines Apoſtolorum in circuitu ejuſdem
" capellae; et judicium in occidentali parte
" ejuſdem; et iconem beatae Mariae vir-
" ginis in quadam tabula ſimiliter pingi
" faciat; ita quod haec parata ſint in ad-
" ventu regis. Teſte rege apud Brug-
" wauter xiii die Auguſti."

The next, dated in the ſame year, exhibits a donation of three oaks for making images.

" Clauſ. 34. HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum
" eſt cuſtodi parci regis de Periton quod
" in eodem parco faciat habere ſacriſtae
" Glaſton. tres quercus ad imagines inde
" faciendas et ponendas in eccleſiâ ſua Gla-
" ſton. de dono regis. Teſte rege apud
" Glaſton xv die Auguſti."

The following is not leſs curious;

" Clauſ. 34. HEN. III. m. 12. Manda-
" tum eſt R. de Sandeford magiſtro mili-
" tiae templi in Angliâ quod faciat habere
" Henrico de warderoba, latori preſentium,
" ad opus reginae * quendam librum mag-
" num,

* The beauty of Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III, is thus celebrated by Langtoff in his Chronicle, publiſhed by Hearne, vol. i. p. 213.

Henry

"n[illegible], qui eſt in domo ſua London. Gal-
"lico ydiomate ſcriptum, in quo conti-
"nentur geſta Antiochiae et regum alio-
"rum, &. Teſte rege apud Weſtm. xvii
"die Maii."

The two next ſpecify the uſe that was to be made of the above-mentioned book, which I conclude contained an * account of the Cruſade, the hiſtory of which the king orders to be painted in the tower and at Weſtminſter in a low chamber in the garden near what in the writ is named the king's Jewry, † and which room his majeſty orders to be thenceforward called the Antioch-chamber; the origine probably of

Henry king, ouf prince, at Weſtmynſter kirke
The erlys douhter of Province, the faireſt may o lif,
Her name is Helianore, of gentille norture,
Bizond the ſe that wore was non ſuilk creature.

* The emperor Frederic II. had ſent to king Henry a large account of his war in the Holy Land, in a letter under his own ſeal. See note to Tindal's Rapin under the year 1228.

† This Judaiſm or Jewry, was probably an exchequer or treaſury erected by Henry for receiving the ſums levied on the Jews, from whom he extorted a third part of their ſubſtance to carry on the war with France. Rapin ubi ſupra.

what is now ſtyled the Jeruſalem-chamber.

" Clauſ. A°. 35. HEN. III. m. 11. Man-
" datum eſt Edwardo de Weſtm. quod de-
" pingi faciat hiſtoriam Antioch. in camera
" regis turris London. ſicut ei dicet Tho-
" mas Eſpernir, et cuſtum, quod ad hoc
" poſuerit, rex ei faciet allocari. Teſte rege
" apud Winton. v die Junii."

" Ibidem. m. 10. Mandatum eſt Ed-
" wardo de Weſtm. quod Judaiſmum regis
" apud Weſtm. et magnum * cellarium vi-
" norum

* There are two records among the foregoing, which, though not relating to my ſubject, but to the wine-cellar, and even to the compoſing of wine for his majeſty, are ſo curious that I am perſuaded the reader will be glad to ſee them.

" Clauſ. A°. 34. HEN. III. m. 19. De potibus deli-
" catis ad opus regis faciendis. Mandatum eſt cuſto-
" dibus vinorum regis Winton. quod de vinis regis
" quae habent in cuſtodia ſua, liberent † Roberto de
" Monte Peſſulano tanta et talia, qualia et quanta ca-
" pere voluerit, ad potus regis pretioſos delicatos inde
" faciendos. Teſte rege apud Lutegareſhall xxvi die
" Novembr."

" Clauſ. 36. HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum eſt
" cuſtodibus vinorum regis de Ebor. quod de me-

† See more of him in Pegge's Life of Roger Weſeham.

" lioribus

" norum regis lambruſcari, et baſſam came-
" ram in gardino regis, et parvam turellam
" ultra capellam ibidem depingi, et in ea-
" dem camera unum caminum fieri faciat,
" quam quidem cameram Antioch volumus
" appellari."

Theſe that follow all relate to various paintings;

" Ibidem. m. 5. Mandatum eſt Simoni
" Capellano et aliis cuſtodibus operationum
" Windeſor. quod clauſtrum regis in caſtro
" Windeſor. paviri et lambruſcari, et Apoſ-
" tolos depingi faciant, ſicut rex ei et ma-
" giſtro Willielmo pictori ſuo ibidem in-
" junxit. Teſte rege apud Havering. xx die
" Auguſti."

" Liberat. 36. HEN. III. m. 15. Rex
" Vicecomiti Nottinghamiae ſalutem. Prae-

" lioribus vinis regis quae ſunt in cuſtodia ſua faciant
" habere Roberto de Monte Peſſulano duo dolia albi
" vini et Garhiofilacum, et unum dolium rubri vini ad ‡
" claretum inde faciend ad opus regis contra inſtans
" feſtum Nativitatis Dominicae Et mandatum eſt Rob.
" de Monte Peſſulano quod feſtinanter accedat ad Ebor
" et garhiofilac. et claret. predict. faciat ſicut annis
" preteritis facere conſuevit."

‡ A compoſition of wine and honey. V. Hiſt. de l'ancienne Chevalerie, vol. 1. p 49.

" cipimus tibi quod in camera reginae noſ-
" trae aput Nottingham depingi facias
" hiſtoriam Alexandri circumquaque; et
" cuſtum quod ad hoc poſueritis computa-
" bitur. Teſte rege apud Nottingham xv
" die Januarii."

" Liberat. 36. HEN. III. m. 15. Man-
" datum vic. Northampton. quod fieri fa-
" ciat in caſtro North. feneſtras de albo
" vitro, et in eiſdem hiſtoriam Lazari et
" Divitis depingi."

" Clauſ. 36. HEN. III. m. 22. Manda-
" tum eſt Radulpho de Dungun, cuſtodi
" librorum * regis, quod magiſtro Williel-
" mo pictori regis habere faciat colores ad
" depingendum parvam garderobam regi-
" nae, et emendandum picturam magnae
" camerae regis et camerae reginae. Teſte
" rege apud Weſtm. xxv die Febr. Per re-
" gem."

The ſix next precepts appertain to various arts, not to painting in particular.

* It would be a great curioſity if we could recover a liſt of his majeſty's library. It probably contained ſome illuminated MSS. as the librarian had the keeping of the colours too. The original copy of Matthew Paris with miniatures, in the Britiſh Muſeum, was certainly a preſent to this king from the author.

" Clauſ.

" Clauſ. 36. HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum " eſt Edwardo de Weſtm. quod cum feſtina- " tione perquirat quendam pulcrum gla- " dium, et ſcauberg. ejuſdem de ſerico, et " pomellum de argento bene et ornate co- " operiri, et quandam pulcram zonam ei- " dem pendi faciat, ita quod gladium illum " ſic factum habeat apud Ebor. de quo * rex " Alexandrum regem Scotiae illuſtrem cin- " gulo militari decorare poſſit in inſtanti " feſto Nativitatis Dominicae. Teſte rege " apud Lychfeld xxi die Novembr. Per ip- " ſum regem."

" Clauſ. 36. HEN. III. m. 30. Manda- " tum eſt J. de Somercote † et Rogero " Sciſſori, quod ſine dilatione fieri faciant " unum lectum pretioſum, ita quod illud " decenter et ornate factum habeat apud " Ebor. ad dandum illud Alex. regi Scotiae " illuſtri in inſtanti feſto Nativitatis Do- " minicae."

" Ibidem. Mandatum eſt I. de Somer- " cote et Rogero Sciſſori, quod de me-

* Alexander III. king of Scotland married Margaret, daughter of Henry, at York.

† In the ſame year J. de Somercote had a patent to be Warden of the mint, Cuſtos Cambii per totum regnum.

" lioribus ſamittis quos invenire poterunt
" ſine dilatione faciant quatuor robas, duas
" videlicet ad opus regis, et duas ad opus
" reginae, cum aurifraxis ſemilatis, et varii
" coloris, et quod tunicae ſint de molliori-
" bus ſamittis quam pallia et ſupertunicae;
" et quod pallia furrentur cum ermino, et
" ſupertunicae de minuto vario; ita quod
" rex habeat praedictas robas ornate factas
" apud Ebor. ad hoc inſtans feſtum Nativita-
" tis Dominicae. Teſte rege apud Lychfeld
" xxi die Novembr."

" Ibidem. Mandatum eſt I. de Somer-
" cote et Rogero Sciſſori, quod preter illas
" duas robas quas rex fieri precepit ad opus
" ſuum, fieri faciant ad opus regis tres ro-
" bas de queintiſis, videlicet unam robam
" de meliori ſamitto violaceo, quam inve-
" nire poterunt, cum tribus parvis * leo-
" pardis in parte anteriori, et aliis tribus
" parte poſteriori; et duas de aliis meli-
" oribus pannis qui inveniri poterunt; ita
" quod robas illas decenter et ornate factas
" rex promptas habeat apud Ebor. in feſto
" Nativitatis Domini."

" Clauſ. 39. HEN. III. Rex conceſſit ma-

* The lions in the arms of England were originally leopards.

" giſtro

" giſtro Johanni de Glouceſtre cementario
" ſuo, quod toto tempore vitae ſuae quietus
" ſit de omnimodo Tallagio et Theloniо
" ubique per totam poteſtatem regis."

" Clauſ. 43. HEN. III. m. 10. Man-
" datum eſt magiſtro Johanni de Glouc.
" cementario ſuo, et cuſtodibus operationum
" Weſtm. quod quinque imagines regum
" inciſas in franca petra, et quandam petram
" ad ſupponendum pedibus unius imaginis
" beatae Mariae, faciatis habere cuſtodibus
" operationum eccleſiae ſancti Martini Lon-
" don. ad eaſdem operationes, de dono
" regis. Teſte rege apud Weſtm. xi die
" Maii."

" Then comes a record intituled " Pro
" rege de coloribus ad picturam Windeſor.
" Clauſ. A°. 44. HEN. III. m. 6. Manda-
" tum eſt Edwardo de Weſtm. quod co-
" lores et alia ad picturam neceſſaria ſine
" dilatione faciat habere fratri Willielmo
" monacho Weſtm. pictori regis, ad pic-
" turas regis apud Windſor inde * reno-
" vandas, prout idem frater Willielmus

* Hence it appears that Windſor had been a place of note even before the reign of HEN. III. conſequently long before it was beautified by Edward III.

" predicto Edwardo dicet ex parte regis. " Et hoc ſicut regem diligit, non omittat; " et cum rex ſciverit cuſtum quod ad hoc " poſuerit, rex breve ſuum de liberate ſibi " habere faciet. Teſte rege apud Windſor " xiii die Auguſti."

The next is inſcribed De pictura Rap. Guldef. and contains the following orders:

" Liberate A°. 44. HEN. III. m. 11. " Rex vicecom. Surr. ſalutem. Precipi- " mus tibi quod exitibus comitatus tui " picturas magnae aulae noſtrae de Gulde- " ford, prout neceſſe fuerit, ſine dilatione " emendari, et in magna camera noſtra ibi- " dem ad caput lecti noſtri ſuper album " murum quoddam pallium depingi, et ta- " bulas et fruntellum altaris magnae ca- " pellae noſtrae ibidem ſine dilatione fieri " facias, prout injunximus Willielmo Flo- " rentino pictori; et cuſtum quod ad hoc " poſueris per viſum et teſtimonium pro- " borum et legalium hominum conf. &c. " Teſte meipſo apud Weſtm. xxx die Oc- " tobr."

I conclude that maſter William, William the monk of Weſtminſter, and William

liam of Florence were the ſame perſon. What arts we had, as well as learning, lay chiefly among the religious in thoſe ages. One remark I am ſurprized Mr. Vertue did not make, when he was aſſigning greater antiquity to painting in England than in Italy, that this William of Florence was an Italian.

The two following are little remarkable, except that in the laſt we find the name of another painter.

" Liberate A°. 49. HEN. III. m. 7. Rex. " Theſ. et camerariis ſuis ſalutem. Libe- " rate de theſauro noſtro pictoribus camerae " noſtrae apud Weſtm. ſeptem libras et " decem ſolidos ad picturas ejuſdem camerae " capellae noſtrae retro lectum noſtrum " ibidem faciend."

" Liberate A°. 51. HEN. III. m. 10. " et 8. Rex Ballivis civitatis London. ſa- " lutem. Mandamus vobis quod de firma " civitatis praedictae habere faciatis ma- " giſtro Waltero pictori noſtro viginti mar- " cas ad picturas camerae noſtrae apud " Weſtm. inde faciend. et hoc nullo modo " omittatis. Et computabitur vobis ad " ſcacca-

" ſcaccarium. Teſte rege apud Weſtm. vii
" die Januar."

Among theſe records I find the following curious memorandum of the ſums expended on the king's building at Weſtminſter to the forty-fifth year of his reign.

" Summa cuſt. operationum Weſt. ab
" inceptione uſque in die dominica proxima
" poſt feſtum divi Michaelis anno regni
" regis Henrici xlv^to^. Et CCLX librae reſ-
" tant ſolvendae pro ſtipendiis alborum ciſ-
" ſorum et minutorum operariorum, et pro
" franca petra et aliis emptionibus quae non
" computantur in hac ſumma; XXIX millia,
" CCCXLV *l.* XIX *s.* VIII *d.*"

The laſt piece I have to produce relates to works to be done for the Prince and his conſort Eleanor; with the addition of the ſalary of maſter William, who was allowed ſix-pence a day, as ſurveyor of the works at Guilford:

" Liberate 52. HEN. III. m. 11. Rex
" vicecom. Surr. et Suff. ſalutem. Precipi-
" mus tibi quod de exitibus com. praedic-
" torum infra curiam noſtram manerii noſtri
" de Guldeford quandam cameram cum
" ſtadio

" ſtadio et camino, garderoba, et camera
" forinſeca, et quandam capellam ad caput
" ejuſdem camerae, cum ſtadio et feneſtris
" vitreis, eaſdem cameram et capellam de-
" centibus, ad opus kariſſimae filiae noſtrae
" Alianorae conſortis Edwardi primogeniti
" noſtri, et unam cameram cum ſtadio et
" camino camera forinſeca, et feneſtris vi-
" treis eandem cameram decentibus, ad
" opus militum kariſſimae conſortis noſtrae
" Alianorae reginae Angliae, et quoddam *
" appenticm. ibidem de novo ſine dilatione
" fieri, et herbarium ejuſdem reginae noſ-
" trae reparari et emendari facias, ſecun-
" dum quod Willielmo Florentino pictori
" noſtro injunximus, et idem Willielmus
" plenius tibi ſcirc faciet ex parte noſtra; et
" cuſtum, &c. per viſum, &c. computabi-
" tur.

" Rex eidem vicecom. ſalutem. Precipi-
" mus tibi quod de exitibus com. praedic-
" torum facias habere Willielmo Florentino
" cuſtodi operationum noſtrarum manerii
" noſtri dc Guldeford ſingulis diebus ſex
" denarios pro ſtipendiis ſuis, quam diu
" fueris vicecomes noſter eorundem comi-

* Sic originale.

" tat.

" tat. et praedictus Willielmus cuſtos fue-
" rit operationum praedictarum, ſicut eos
" temporibus retroactis ante turbationem
" habitam in regno ibidem percipere con-
" ſuevit: et cuſtum, &c. Teſte rege apud
" Weſtm. xxix die Jan."

Beſides the palaces above-mentioned, this prince laid out too large ſums in repairing and beautifying Kenelworth caſtle, cieling the chapel with wainſcot, painting that and the queen's chamber, and rebuilding the wall on the outſide, as it remained to the time of Sir William Dugdale *.

I cannot paſs over the princeſs Eleanor, ſo much celebrated by our legendary hiſtorians for ſucking the poiſon out of her huſband's wound, without mentioning the croſſes erected to her memory, which Vertue with great probability ſuppoſed were

* See his Warwickſh. p. 244. In the ſame reign John of Hertford, Abbot of St. Albans, made great additions to his convent, and in one of the chambers placed A NOBLE PICTURE. See Willis's mitred abbies, vol. i. p. 21. One Lambbirt, builder or repairer of the ſame church, heaped his own rebus, a lamb and a bird, among the ornaments. Alen Strayler was illuminator to that abbey.

built

built on the deſigns of Peter Cavalini, a Roman ſculptor, and whom from various circumſtances he diſcovered to be the architect of the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor.

The reader, I am perſuaded, will be pleaſed to ſee how ingeniouſly my author traced out this hitherto unknown fact.

The original inſcription on the tomb ran thus:

Anno milleno Domini cum ſeptuageno
Et bis centeno, cum completo quaſi deno,
Hoc opus eſt factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum
Romanus civis: Homo, cauſam noſcere ſi vis,
Rex fuit Henricus, ſancti praeſentis amicus.

The words *Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis* were diſcernible 'till very lately. Some old authors aſcribe the erection of the ſhrine to Henry himſelf, others, to Richard de Ware the Abbat, elected in 1260. It is probable that both were concerned. The new Abbat repaired to Rome immediately on his election to receive conſecration from Urban IV. At that time, ſays Vaſari, flouriſhed there Peter Cavalini, a painter and the inventor of Moſaic, who had performed ſeveral

ral coſtly works in that city. About four years before the arrival of Abbat Ware, that is in 1256, had been erected a ſplendid ſhrine* for the martyrs Simplicius and Fauſtina, at the expence of John James Capoccio and his wife, adorned with twiſted columns and inlaid with precious marbles exactly in the taſte, though not in the preciſe form of that of St Edward. Nothing is more probable than that a rich abbat, either at his own expence, or to gratify the taſte of his magnificent maſter ſhould engage a capital artiſt to return with him and undertake the ſhrine of his maſter's patron-ſaint, and the great patron of his own church. Weaver ſays expreſſly that the abbat brought back with him from Rome

* A draught of it by Mr. Talman in the proper colours is preſerved in the firſt volume of the drawings belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. A ſketch of it I have among Vertue's MSS. Great part of that identic ſhrine, which ſtood originally in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, and was removed of late years, on making a new pavement to the church, is now at Strawberry-hill, in a chapel erected on purpoſe to receive it; being ſent to Mr. Walpole by Sir William Hamilton Envoy to Naples, who purchaſed it on its removal.

Workmen

Workmen and rich porphyry ſtones for Edward the Confeſſor's feretory; and for the pavement of the chapel †: This abbat was lord treaſurer to his death in 1283, and was buried on the north ſide of the great altar: Over him was anciently this epitaph confirming the circumſtances above mentioned.

Abbas Richardus de Warâ, qui requieſcit
Hic, portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab Urbe.

Vaſari's ſilence on Cavalini's journey to England ought to be no objection; he not only wrote ſome hundred years after

† Before Henry III. began the preſent church, there had been a rich ſhrine for the confeſſor erected by William I. as the latter ſays expreſly in his charter. Edward had beſtowed Windſor on the Abbey of Weſtminſter; the conqueror, on his acceſſion, prevailed on the abbat and convent to reſtore Windſor, in exchange for other lands, being delighted with the ſcite; "Maximè utilis & commodus eſt viſus propter contiguam aquam et ſilvam venationibus aptam," ſays he; and after naming the lordſhips he gave them, he mentions the gift of an hundred pounds of ſilver to compleat and finiſh the building of the Abbey, and then adds, "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipſum inclitum regem Edwardum habueram, Tumbum ejus & reginae juxta eum poſitae, ex auro et argento fabrili opere artificioſi decoris mirificè operiri feci."

the

the time, but confounds his own account ſo ſtrangely as to make Peter Cavalini ſcholar of Giotto, who was twenty years younger. If it may be imagined that Richard Ware could not have intereſt enough to ſeduce ſo capital a workman from the ſervice of the pope, it might ſtill be accounted for, by higher authority. Edward I. returning from the Holy Land was conducted by the king of Sicily to Rome to viſit Gregory X. who had been Edward's companion and friend in the Holy War. An artful Pope would certainly be glad to furniſh a young king with artiſts who would encourage him in raiſing ſhrines and temples. The monument of Henry III. erected by his ſon, is beautified in the ſame taſte with porphyry and moſaic; and the firſt brazen ſtatue known to have been caſt here, lies upon it. The old paintings round the chapel of St. Edward, and thoſe, in a very beautiful and ſuperior ſtyle, though much decayed, over the ragged regiment, Vertue aſcribes to the ſame Cavalini. This painter and ſculptor probably, as I have ſaid, gave the deſigns for the croſſes erected by Edward to his beloved

beloved Eleanor ‡. Vertue had drawn them, with a deſign of engraving; I have his original drawings. I muſt not omit that it was no ſmall part of Peter Cavalini's fame, that he made the crucifix that ſpoke to St. Bridget §.

From all the teſtimonies above recited, Henry III. appears in a new light from what has hitherto been known of him. That he was a weak prince in point of government is indiſputable. That he was a great encourager of the arts, theſe records demonſtrate. When hiſtorians talk of his profuſion, they evidence only in what he diſſipated on his favorites. But it is plain that the number and magnificence of his buildings and palaces muſt have ſwallowed great part of the ſums, malicioufly charged to the ſingle article of unworthy favorites.

‡ I have ſome ſuſpicion that a ſon of Peter Cavalini, is the perſon called Peter le Orfever, mentioned in a precept of Edward II. He is there intituled of Stanford, and brought an action againſt certain perſons for aſſault and battery. As one of Queen Eleanor's croſſes was erected there, it is not improbable that a ſon of Cavalini might marry and ſettle in that town. See Peck's Stanford, lib. x. ſect. 13.

§ Felibien. vol. i. p. 172.

It matters not how a prince ſquanders what he has tyrannically ſqueezed from the ſubject: If he exceeds his revenue, it is almoſt as ill ſpent on edifices as on miniſters. But it is perhaps no more than juſtice to make ſome allowance for partial or exaggerated relations. Henry was not a wiſe prince—may I venture to ſay more—He was not a martial prince. Even in theſe more ſenſible ages one illuſtrious defect in a king converts all his other foibles into excellencies. It muſt have done ſo much more in a ſeaſon of ſuch heroic barbariſm as that of Henry III. and the want of an enterprizing ſpirit in that prince made even his patronage of the arts be imputed to effeminacy, or be overlooked. The extravagance of Louis XIV. in his buildings, gardens, water-works, paſſed for an object of glory under the canon (if I may ſay ſo) of his ambition. Henry III. had no conqueſts to illuminate his cielings, his halls, his baſreliefs. Yet perhaps the generous ſentiment implied in his motto, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*, contained more true glory than all the Faſt couched under Louis's emblem

emblem of the ſun, and his other oſtentatious devices. But let us compare Henry with one nearer to him. Henry's reign is one of the moſt ignominious in our annals; That of Edward* the 1ſt. of the moſt triumphant. Yet I would aſk by which of the Two did the nation ſuffer moſt? By ſums laviſhed on favorites and buildings; or by ſums and blood waſted in unjuſt wars? If we look narrowly into Edward's reign we ſhall ſcarce find fewer repreſentations againſt the tyranny of the ſon than againſt the encroachments of the father. Who will own that he had not rather employ maſter William and Edward of Weſtminſter to paint the geſtes of the kings of Antioch, than imitate the ſon in his barbarities in Wales and uſurpations in Scotland?

* See the Parliamentary Hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

State of Painting from the Reign of HENRY III. *to the End of* HENRY VI.

FROM the reign of Henry III. Mr. Vertue could diſcover no records relating to the arts for ſeveral reigns. I ſhall endeavour to fill this hiatus by producing an almoſt entire chronologic ſeries of paintings from that time to Henry VII. when Mr. Vertue's notes recommence.

During the reigns of the two firſt Edwards, I find no veſtiges * of the art, though it was certainly preſerved here, at leaſt by painting on glaſs. No wonder that a proud, a warlike, and ignorant nobility, encouraged only that branch which atteſted their dignity. Their dungeons were

* Except that in the reign of Edward I. Biſhop Langton built a palace and hall at Litchfield, in which was painted the ceremony of the coronation, &c. Brown Willis's Cath. vol. i. p. 17.

rendered

rendered ſtill darker by their pride. It was the caſe of all the arts; none flouriſhed, but what ſerved to diſplay their wealth, or contributed to their ſecurity. They were magnificent without luxury, and pompous without elegance. Rich plate, even to * the enamelling on gold, rich ſtuffs, and curious armour were carried to exceſs, while their chairs were mere pedeſtals, their cloaths

* Biſhop Wickham's crozier at Oxford is an inſtance how well the pomp of prelacy was ſerved by ingenious artiſts. It is certain that in the reigns of the two firſt Edwards there were Greek enamellers in England, who both practiced and taught the art. In Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 397, 403. are mentioned enamelled cups very near that period; and ſome ancient pieces are ſtill extant. The beautifull cup of gold, enamelled with figures in the habits of the time, given by king John to the corporation of Lynn in Norfolk, and ſtill preſerved there, gives a very favorable idea of the taſte and artiſans of an age, a little antecedent to that I am ſpeaking of. King Alfred's jewel found at Athelney in Somerſetſhire, and of which there is a print in Camden's Britannia, is of much more ancient date, but of workmanſhip far more rude. I call it a jewel, becauſe it ſeems to have been uſed as jewels were afterwards, appendent to ribbands. By the cut, I ſhould take it for engraven gold; Camden, which is extraordinary, does not deſcribe the materials, but calls it a picture, which would make one think it was enamelled.

were incumbrances, and they knew no uſe of ſteel but as it ſerved for ſafety or deſtruction. Their houſes, for there was no medium between caſtles and hovels, implied the dangers of ſociety, not the ſweets of it; and whenever peace left them leiſure to think of modes, they ſeemed to imagine that faſhion conſiſted in transfiguring the human body, inſtead of adding grace to it. While the men wore ſhoes ſo long and picked, that they were forced to ſupport the points by chains from their middle; the ladies erected ſuch pyramids on their heads, that the face became the center of the body; and they were hardened to theſe prepoſterous inconveniencies by their prieſts, who inſtead of leaving them to be cured by the ficklenes of faſhions, or by the trouble of them, denounced God's judgments on follies againſt which a little laughter and a little common ſenſe had been more effectual ſermons. It was not far diſtant I think from the period of which I am ſpeaking that the ladies wore looking-glaſſes about the ſame height of their bodies, with that, on which the men diſplayed ſuch indecent ſymbols.

bols *. The repreſentations of theſe extravagances (as we ſee them collected by Montfaucon in his antiquities of France) demanded Japoneſe and Indian painters; were not likely to produce Vandycks and Titians. While we are curious in tracing the progreſs of barbariſm, we wonder more that any arts exiſted, than that they attained no degree of perfection.

Of the third Edward, ſays Mr. Vertue †, many portraits are preſerved, at Windſor, in illuminated MSS. and elſewhere. As he has not marked where theſe limnings exiſt, I can give no account of them myſelf, nor refer the reader to the inſpection of them. But there is a portrait taken from a buſt of the ſame age, the face of which is far from being executed in a contemptible manner. It repreſents that artiſt and patron of arts William of Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter, and prime miniſter to Edward III. a prelate whoſe magnificent charities yet

* La Bruyere has expreſſed this with the happieſt decency; "Ils avoient trouvè le ſecret de paroitre nuds tout habillez." Vol. ii. p. 234.

† See an account, in folio, prefixed to his prints of the kings of England.

exiſt, both in the benefits he calculated for poſterity and in the edifices erected on his own deſigns for perpetuating thoſe pious bounties. The portrait has been engraven by Houbraken among the heads of illuſtrious men; a noble memorial, which I am ſorry to ſay was forced to be dropped (though exhibited at the trifling expence of five ſhillings for four beautiful prints) the moment the novelty of it was exhauſted.

The Black Prince † was repreſented on glaſs in a window at the weſt end of Weſtminſter abbey, but the image is now almoſt defaced. Mr. Maurice Johnſon, the antiquary of Spalding, had a MS. of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon, written in 1340, wherein was an illumination of the author. It was ſhown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1735.

† Mr. Onſlow, the late ſpeaker, had a head of the Black Prince, which there is great reaſon to believe was painted at the time. It is not very ill done: It repreſents him in black armour, emboſſed with gold, and with a golden lion on his breaſt. He has a hat with a white feather, and a large ruby, exactly in the ſhape of the rough ruby ſtill in the crown. He appears lean and pale, as he was towards the end of his life. This very curious picture came out of Betchworth-caſtle in Surrey.

The

The perſon of Richard II. is ſtill preſerved in the moſt lively manner, in two different pictures. The firſt a whole length in the abbey of Weſtminſter; the other ‡ at the earl of Pembroke's at Wilton, a ſmall piece conſiſting of two tablets, on which are repreſented the king kneeling, accompanied by his patron ſaints, John the Baptiſt, St. Edmund the king and Edward the Confeſſor, before the Virgin and Child, attended by angels. Hollar engraved it. To the bottom of this picture are affixed theſe words, "Invention of painting in oil 1410. This was painted before in the beginning of Richard II. 1377, &c." Theſe words, which are very equivocal, ſtarted a queſtion with me, which I found nobody that could reſolve. Do they imply that this piece was painted in oil before John ab Eyck diſcovered that ſecret in 1410? ſo one ſhould think, for what news did the inſcriber tell, if he only meant that painting in water-colours or miniature was practiſed before painting in oil? Every illuminated

‡ See a full deſcription of it in the accounts of the curioſities at Wilton by Gambarini, Cowdry, or Kennedy.

MS.

Mr. antecedent to that date was a proof of that. The ſhort quaere would be, With what is the picture in queſtion painted? To that I can only reply, that it is covered with glaſs; and is too great a curioſity to have experiments made upon it. It is painted on a bright golden ground, the colours of the utmoſt freſhneſs, and not grown black as oil-colours would be, and is, as I have ſaid, guarded by a glaſs, all which indicate that it is miniature. Yet I do not pretend to decide: The inſcription I have mentioned and ſome other circumſtances ſeem to leave a doubt whether John ab Eyck was really the firſt perſon who mixed his colours with oil. We have ſeen by a record reported above, that long before this period oil was at leaſt uſed as a varniſh, and it is difficult to conceive how it was poſſible to varniſh with oil either water-colours or colours mixed with ſize. It occurred to me to enquire with what the painters antecedent to John ab Eyck mixed their colours: Even in this country there are a few pictures extant, and painted on board, before oil-painting can be ſuppoſed to have been introduced here. Not to mention

mention the picture at Wilton, the other of Richard II. at Weſtminſter, and an undoubted original of Henry IV. at Hampton-court in Herefordſhire, who died within two years after John ab Eyck's diſcovery, muſt be allowed to have been drawn before the new art arrived here. The picture at Weſtminſter has indeed been repainted *, therefore no concluſion can be drawn from it. This queſtion, eaſy as I thought it, I found had been paſſed over without conſideration, and though propoſed to a very learned † body of men, arrived at no ſolution. After turning over ſeveral books of painting, all treating of John ab Eyck's invention, but without one word of the method which his ſecret diſpoſſeſſed, I at laſt found what I ſought. Sandrart put an end to the difficulty by theſe words words:

Quia autem metuebant ne muri ſciſſuris diffinderentur, hinc eoſdem linteo, prius

* By one Capt. Brome, a print-ſeller near the parliament houſe; but this was after Mr. Talman had taken his drawing from whence the print was engraved.

† The ſociety of Antiquaries.

glutine

glutine mediante, induxerunt, deſuperque applicito gypſo, poſtmodo demum picturas ſuas effigurarunt, qui modus dici ſolet *alla tempera*, id eſt, temperaturae aquariae. Hanc autem temperaturam ita praeparabant: effracto prius ovo gallinaceo, in ejuſdem liquore frondem teneràm ficulneam de ficu juniore diſcutiebant: ubi è lacte iſtius frondis, eque vitello illa naſcebatur temperatura: qua mediante, poſtmodum loco aquae vel gummi, vel tragacanthae, colores ſuos ſubigebant, quibus dehinc opera ſua perficerent *.

When they painted on walls, leſt their work ſhould crack, they proceeded in this manner: They glued a linnen cloth upon the wall, and covered that with plaiſter, on which they painted in diſtemper: This was thus prepared: They dropped into the yolk of an egg the milk that flows from the leaf of a young fig-tree, with which inſtead of water, gum, or gumdragant, they mixed their laſt layer of colours. It is probable from the laſt words of this paſſage that they laid their firſt colour with water or gum only.

* Academ. pictur. p. 15.

I ſhall

I ſhall be told perhaps, that this method was only uſed for painting on walls; but, leaving out the plaiſter, I ſee nothing to hinder the ſame preparation from being uſed on board. Of what mixture Cimabue, the reſtorer of the art, made uſe, we are told by the ſame author. Multaeque illius manu confectae non hiſtoriae minus, quam imagines, in tabulis ligneis, colore ovis vel glutine temperato †.

Ciambue uſed yolk of egg or glue, which I ſuppoſe means ſize.

Still the much more ancient uſe of oil, were it but as a varniſh, leaves a doubt whether John ab Eyck's diſcovery was entirely his own. The remarkable record which I have ſo often mentioned, dates above an hundred years before the common aera of painting in oil. John ab Eyck is allowed to have found it in ſearching for a varniſh. Might he not have heard that ſuch a varniſh or compoſition was in uſe in England? ‡ The very pictures

† Academ. pictur. p. 94.

‡ I cannot help hazarding a conjecture (though unſupported by any of the writers on painting). There is

tures I have mentioned as ſtill extant and under all the appearances of being painted in oil, ſeem to ſay even more. The Painters employed by Henry III. appear to have been Italians, and yet it is eaſy to vindicate the ſecret from them, at leaſt I can prove that they muſt have found the practice here, not have brought it

is an old altar-table at Chiſwick, repreſenting the lord Cliffoſd and his lady kneeling.—Van Eyck's name is burnt in on the back of the board. If Van Eyck was ever in England, would it not be probable that he learned the ſecret of uſing oil here, and took the honour of the invention to himſelf, as we were then a country little known to the world of arts, nor at leiſure enough, from the confuſions of the times, to claim the diſcovery of a ſecret which ſoon made ſuch fortune abroad? An additional preſumption, though certainly not a proof of Van Eyck's being in England, is a picture in the duke of Devonſhire's collection painted by John ab Eyck in 1422, and repreſenting the conſecration of St. Thomas Becket. The tradition is, that it was a preſent to Henry V. from his uncle the duke of Bedford, regent of France; but tradition is no proof; and two pictures of this author in England, one of them of an Engliſh family, and the other of an Engliſh ſtory, are at leaſt as good evidence for his having been here, as tradition for one of them being painted abroad. However I pretend to nothing more in all this than mere conjecture.

over

over with them, for we are told expreſsly that in Italy they knew of no ſuch methods. When ſome of John ab Eyck's pictures were carried to Alphonſo king of Naples, the Italian painters were ſurprized, ſays Sandrart *, Quod aquâ purgari poſſent, coloribus non deletis.

I muſt beg not to have it ſuppoſed that I am ſetting up any novel pretenſions for the honour of my own country. Where the diſcovery was made I do not pretend to gueſs: the fact ſeems to be that we had ſuch a practice. Curious facts are all I aim at relating, never attempting to eſtabliſh an hypotheſis, which of all kind of viſions can nouriſh itſelf the moſt eaſily without any. The paſſion for ſyſtems did not introduce more errors into the old philoſophy, than hypotheſis has crouded into hiſtory and antiquities. It wreſts all arguments to the favorite point. A man who ſees with Saxon eyes ſees a Saxon building in every molehill: a Mercian virtuoſo can

* P. 105. Maffei indeed in his Verona Illuſtrata is of a different opinion, and thinks oil-painting was known in Italy before John ab Eyck.

diſcover

diſcover king lords and commons in the tumultuary conventions of the Witten-agemot; and an enthuſiaſt to the bards find primaeval charms in the rudeſt ballad that was bawled by the mob three or four hundred years ago. But the truths we antiquaries ſearch for, do not ſeem of importance enough to be ſupported by fictions: the world in general thinks our ſtudies of little conſequence; they do not grow more valuable by being ſtuffed with gueſſes and invention.

The painters of theſe portraits ‡ of king Richard

‡ Another repreſentation of this king is exhibited by Montfaucon from a MS. Froiſard in the library of the king of France. There is another illuminated edition of that author in the Britiſh Muſeum, in which is a miniature of the young monarch ſitting on his throne and attended by his uncles. In the ſame place is an hiſtoric poem in old French, written by a perſon of condition in the ſervice of Richard II. and an eye-witneſs of all that he relates. It has ſixteen curious illuminations, in which that king is eight times repreſented in different ſituations ‖. There are alſo the portraits of Henry of Lancaſter (four times) of Archbiſhop Arundel, the dukes of Surry and of Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Saliſbury, &c. Part

‖ Strutt has engraved them for his regal and eccleſiaſtic Antiquities

of

Richard are ſtill more uncertain than the method in which they painted. I can find no names of artiſts * at that period. Nor is this extraordinary. In countries where the ſcience flouriſhed more, our knowledge of the profeſſors is very imperfect. Though Ciambue reſtored the art as early as 1250, yet the number of his ſucceſſors on record is extremely ſmall, 'till Antonello of Meſſina carried the ſecret of painting in oil into Italy: and for Flanders, where it was invented, the biographers of the maſters of that country, as Carl Vermander, Sandrart, &c. profeſſedly begin their liſts with John

of this curious piece was tranſlated by George Carew earl of Totneſs; the tranſlation was publiſhed with ten other tracts in a thin folio called Hibernica, by Walter Harris, Dublin 1747.

* Except of John Sutton a carver, who was employed by Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick to alter a ſtatue of the famous Guy earl of Warwick, ſtanding in the choir of the church there, and to cut the arms of the ancient earls on it. It was from the ſpoils of this family that Richard II. granted to his half brother Thomas duke of Surrey a ſuit of arras wrought with the ſtory of the ſame Guy. See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 402, 431. The city of London made preſents to Richard and his queen, among other curioſities, of pictures of the Trinity valued at 800 *l.* An enormous ſum for that time! See deſcrip. of Lond. and the environs, vol. iv. p. 30.

ab Eyck. We muſt leave therefore in the dark what we find irrecoverably ſo.

Two of the artiſts employed on the tomb of Richard are recorded by Stowe. That prince had prepared it for himſelf and his queen. B. and Godfrey of Woodſtreet, goldſmiths, made the moulds and caſt the images of the king and queen [ſtill extant in the abbey] "the charges of gilding of them coſt "400 marks *."

The next picture of the ſame age is a portrait of John of Gaunt painted on glaſs, with other portraits of that time, in the college of All Souls at Oxford

His ſon Henry IV. is extant, as I have ſaid, at Hampton-court in Herefordſhire, formerly his † palace: a copy or duplicate of this piece is at Kenſington. In a book called Studio di Pittura, Scoltura, &c. di Filippo Tito, is a coin of Charles VI. of France with exactly the ſame extraordinary head dreſs, as was worn by this king.

Vertue met with a fine illuminated MS.

* Annals p. 342.

† This is the common report. Others ſay that Hampton-court was built by Sir John Lenthall, from the profit of ſpoils taken in the French war under Henry V. conſequently Henry IV. could not have lived there.

of

of this age, a miſſal for the uſe of Saliſbury; in the beginning was the figure of John lord Lovel receiving the book from Frater Johannes Siſernas, who was probably the illuminator. It is now in the Britiſh Muſeum.

The fine eaſt window in the cathedral of York was painted in this reign, at the expence of the Dean and Chapter, who contracted with John Thornton, glazier, of Coventry, to execute it. He was to receive for his own work four ſhillings a week, and to finiſh the whole in leſs than three years. The indenture, ſtill preſerved, adds, that he was to receive an hundred ſhillings ſterling, each of the three years; and if he executed his work truly and perfectly, he was to have ten pounds more. Another indenture of 1338, for glazing ſome of the weſt windows, articles, that the workman ſhould have ſix-pence a foot for white glaſs, and twelve-pence for coloured. The great window evidences how able an artiſt John Thornton was *.

The painted effigies of Chaucer remained till within theſe few years on his tomb at Weſtminſter; and another, ſays Vertue

* Drake's York, p. 527.

on his print of that poet, is preſerved in an illuminated MS. of Thomas Occleve, painted by Occleve himſelf. D'Urry and Tanner both mention ſuch a portrait, which places Occleve in the rank of one of our firſt painters as well as poets †.

Henry V. is likewiſe on board at Kenſington, and on vellum in ſome MSS. as Vertue ſays in his account prefixed to the heads of our kings, but he does not mention where thoſe MSS. are preſerved. But a moſt curious picture of this king and his family is ſtill extant in the collection of James Weſt, eſq, ſecretary of the treaſury ‡. This piece is evidently painted in oil-colours, and though the new art might have reached England before the death of that prince, which happened in 1422, yet there are many circumſtances that lead me to think it of a later date. It was an altar-piece at Shene, and in all probability was painted by order of Henry VII. for

† I find by Montfaucon that the uſe of crayons was known in this age in France; but nothing of that kind appears to have been practiced in this country. See his account of the portraits of John duke of Berry and Louis duke of Orleans, the uncle and the brother of Charles VI.

‡ It is now at Strawberry-hill.

the chapel in his palace there. His fondneſs for the houſe of Lancaſter is too well known to be dwelt on: the ſmall reſemblance of the portrait of Henry V. to genuine pictures of him, and the great reſemblance of all the other perſonages to one another, make it evident that it was rather a work of command and imagination than of authenticity. Add to this that on the tents (which I ſhall mention preſently) portcullises are mixed with red roſes; the portcullis * was the cognizance of the illegitimate branch of Beaufort, and was never, that I can find born by the houſe of Lancaſter †; but when Henry VII. gave himſelf for the heir of that royal line, no wonder he crouded the badges of his own baſtard blood among the emblems of the crown. However the whole piece is ſo ancient and ſo ſingular, that I ſhall be excuſed inſerting the deſcription of it in this place.

It is painted on ſeveral boards joined,

* See Sandford.

† The red roſe is another proof that this picture was not painted in the reign of Henry V. as the red and white roſes were not adopted as diſtinctions of the two houſes, till the reign of Henry VI.

and is four feet three inches high, by four feet ſix wide.

On the left hand is the king in dark purple robes lined with ermine, the crown on his head. He is kneeling before a deſk on which is a miſſal, and the ſceptre and globe. Behind him on their knees are his three brothers, Thomas duke of Clarence; * John duke of Bedford; Humphrey duke of Gloceſter. They are dreſſed in robes like the king's and wear golden coronets: over them is a tent, ſtriped with white and gold, on which are red roſes crowned; and the valance, of the ſame colours with red roſes and portculliſes. A ſmall angel flying holds the top of the tent. The queen is oppoſite, under another tent exactly in the ſame manner, except that there is no ſceptre on her deſk. Behind her are four ladies dreſſed like her and with coronets. The two firſt are probably Blanche ducheſs of Bavaria, and Philippa queen of Denmark, the king's ſiſters; who the other two are is more difficult to decide, as they are repreſented with diſhevelled hair, which in pictures of that

* This is extremely unlike the miniature of him which I ſhall mention preſently; and which is too remarkable a face not to have had much reſemblance.

time,

time, is a mark of virginity. It has been ſuppoſed that the two elder were the wives of the dukes of Clarence and Bedford, and the two younger their ſiſters; but this claſhes with all hiſtory and chronology. Blanche and Philippa were both married early in their father's reign: and to ſuppoſe the two younger ladies the brides of Clarence and Bedford would be groundleſs, for Margaret Holland the wife of the former was a widow when he married her. As all the portraits are imaginary, it does not much ſignify for whom the painter intended them. A larger angel ſtanding, holds the cloth of the two tents together. On a riſing ground above the tents is St. George on a brown ſteed ſtriking with his ſword at the dragon, which is flying in the air, and already pierced through the forehead with a ſpear, on which is a flag with the croſs of St. George. Cleodelinde, with a lamb, is praying beneath the dragon. On the hills are gothic buildings and caſtles in a pretty taſte.

This curious picture, after it was taken from Shene, was in the Arundelian collection, and was ſold at Tart-hall in 1719. In the long gallery at Lambeth is an ancient

portrait of queen Catherine of Valois, and another of archbiſhop Chicheley.

Richard Frampton had a gift of five marks from Henry V. for illuminating a book of grants in the office of the dutchy of Lancaſter.

An original portrait of John duke of Bedford, above-mentioned, is extant ‡ in a fine illuminated Prayer Book preſented by him to Henry VI. The duke and his firſt wife Anne of Burgundy are repreſented with their arms and devices.

Of that indiſcreet but amiable and unfortunate prince Humphrey duke of Glocester, I know ‖ no memorial; nor will I mention him but to make one remark, ſufficient alone to detect the malice of his enemies, if it had not been detected. What probability was there that the wife of a man illuſtrious for expoſing impoſtors, who encouraged learning †, and founded the Di-

‡ It is now in the collection of her grace the ducheſs of Portland: the duke of Bedford's head was engraved by Vertue with thoſe of the kings.

‖ I have ſince the firſt edition of this work, authenticated two portraits of that prince. v. hereafter, p. 59.

† He had a valuable library for that time, and gave 129 volumes to the univerſity. Hearne.

vini-

vinity-ſchool at Oxford, ſhould have dared under his roof to dabble with witches and necromancers? His firſt wife Jaqueline, the amorous Counteſs of Holland, is known by more than one monument. Two fine prints of her, and her laſt huſband, were publiſhed in 1753 by Folkema, from pictures painted by Moſtert at Harlem. William Bridges, the firſt Garter king at Arms, inſtituted by Henry V. ſet up in the windows of the church of St. George at Stanford the portraits of the firſt Knights of the Garter: It was from theſe paintings that Hollar etched the plate of them publiſhed in Aſhmole's hiſtory of the order †.

In the reign of Henry VI. our field begins to grow leſs barren. Many portraits of the king himſelf are preſerved, as on board at Kenſington and on glaſs in the chapel of King's college. In my poſſeſſion is a remarkable piece, which ſo many circumſtances affix to the hiſtory of this prince that I cannot heſitate to believe it deſigned for him, though I imagine it was painted after his death. It is the repreſentation of

† Peck's Annals of Stanford, book ii. chap. 18.

his

his marriage. There are eleven figures, of which all the heads are well painted: the draperies are hard and ſtiff. The king in rich robes, but with rude diſhevelled hair, as are all the men, ſtands before the portal of a magnificent church, giving his hand to the queen, who is far from being a lovely bride, and whom the painter ſeems ſatirically to have inſinuated by the prominence of her waiſt not to have been ſo perfect a virgin as her flowing hair denotes. Kemp archbiſhop of York and afterwards of Canterbury, and one of her chief counſellors, is performing the marriage rites by holding the pallium over their conjoined hands. It is remarkable that the prelate wears thin yellow gloves which are well repreſented. Behind the king in a robe of ſtate ſtands the duke of Gloceſter, and ſeems reproving a nobleman †, whom I take for the marquis of Suffolk. Behind the queen is a lady in a kind of turban or diadem, probably deſigned for her mother the titular queen of Naples and Jeruſalem. Beyond her, another in a widow's dreſs, oppo-

† He has a hawk on his fiſt, a mark of nobility in old paintings.

ſite

ſite to whom is a comely gentleman. This pair I conclude is Jaqueline, ducheſs of Bedford, widow of duke John, and her ſecond huſband. Our hiſtorian ſays that pretty ſuddenly after the duke's death, ſhe married Sir Richard Widville, a goodly young knight. They were the parents of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV ‡.

On the fore ground oppoſite to the marquis of Suffolk ſtands a noble virgin, whom I take for Margaret of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. One of the charges againſt the marquis of Suffolk was, that he endeavoured to marry his ſon to this lady Margaret, a princeſs of the blood. Near the archbiſhop is a cardinal, who is certainly Wincheſter, the king's great uncle. The face is very like the image on his tomb at Wincheſter; nor can one account for his not performing the ceremony, but by his dignity of prince of the blood, which did not ſuffer by the miniſtration of an inferior prelate. Behind the queen of

‡ The portraits of duke Humphrey and archbiſhop Kemp have been authenticated by two others of the ſame perſons, which formed part of an altar-piece at St. Edmundſbury, and are now at Strawberry-hill.

Naples

Naples is an abbeſs, and at a diſtance a view of a town, that muſt be Tichfield, from whence the queen was led to be married at Southwick. Beſides the ſeeming pregnancy of the queen, there is another circumſtance, concluſive for this picture being painted after the death of Henry. Round his head is the nimbus or glory: an addition that was as poſterior to his marriage, as the painter ſeems to intimate the queen's fruitfulneſs was anterior to it. Round the hem of the queen's robe are ſome letters ‡, which are far from being ſo intelligible as the other incidents. The words are involved in the folds; what appear, are Vol ſalv Regin m—one knows that Salve Regina mater coelorum is the beginning of a hymn—but I know not what to make of Vol.—the painter probably was no Latiniſt—and indeed the firſt

‡ This was a faſhion as early as the reign of Richard II. when Edward Earl of Rutland, the Lord Spencer and others accuſed the Earl of Arundel of treaſon, they appeared before the king at Nottingham in red gowns of ſilk, garded and bordered *with white ſilk and embroidered with letters of gold.* Peck's Annals of Stanford, 12, 39. The lady Margaret in this picture is in a green gown bordered with white ſilk.

letter

letter of Regina, he has drawn more like to a *B* than an R. On the abbeſs's girdle is Vel ave—as little to be decyphered as her majeſty's Vol.

But it is to Sir William Dugdale that I am indebted for the greateſt diſcoveries I have made towards the hiſtory of our ancient artiſts. In that collection of various treaſures which he has ſaved from oblivion [ſaved the more luckily, as he wrote but the inſtant before it became piety to commit devaſtation] He has incidentally preſerved ſome memorials of the ſtate of painting in the reigns of our earlieſt princes. I have found ſome names of the profeſſors, and even the rates of their work. I call them profeſſors, agreeably to modern eſtimation, but our anceſtors ſeem to have treated them without any diſtinction from other mechanics. If Henry III. beſpoke pictures by the intervention of the ſheriff, under Henry VI. we were ſtill ſo unpoliſhed, that a peer of the firſt nobility going into France on an embaſſy, contracted with his taylor for the painter's work that was to be diſplayed in the pageantry of his journey.

journey. The bill itſelf is ſo curious that I ſhall tranſcribe part of it.

Thes be the parcels that Will. Seburgh citizen and peyntour of London hath delivered in the month of Juyll the xv yeer of the reign of king Harry the ſixt, to John Ray, taillour of the ſame citee, for the uſe and ſtuff of my lord of Warwyk.

Ferſt, cccc pencels bete with the raggidde ſtaffe of ſilver, pris the pece v*d*. o8*l*. —6*s*.—oo*d*.

Item, for the peynting of two paveys for my lord, the one with a gryſon ſtondying in my lordis colours rede, white and miſſet, pris of the pavys oo—o6—o8.

Item, for the other pavys peyntid with black and a raggid ſtaffe bete with ſilver occupying all the felde, pris oo—o3—o4.

Item, one coat for my lordis body, bete with fine gold, pris o1—1o—oo.

Item, for a grete ſtremour for the ſhip of xl yerdis length, and viii yerdis in brede, with a grete bere and gryſon holding a ragidd ſtaffe, poudrid full of raggid ſtaves; and for a grete croſſe of St. George, for the lymmyng and portraying—o1—o6—o8.

There

There are ſeveral other articles which the reader may find at length in the original from whence I have copied theſe ‡.

If it is objected to me, that This was meer herald's painting, I anſwer, That was almoſt the only painting we had. The art was engroſſed by and confined to the vanity or devotion of the nobility. The arms they bore and quartered, their miſſals, their church-windows and the images of their idols were the only circumſtances in which they had any employment for a painter. Even portraits, the object of modern vanity, ſeem not to have been in faſhion. I know not one except of the blood royal or of a biſhop or two, painted during the period of which I am writing. Devout ſubjects were held in ſufficient eſtimation. Iſabel counteſs of Warwick in 1439, bequeathed her tablet with the image of our lady to the church of Walſingham, and it is even mentioned that this tablet had a glaſs over it. I cannot paſs over this magnificent lady without taking a little notice of ſome other particulars of her will.

‡ Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 408.

She

She was daughter and at length ſole heireſs of Thomas le Deſpenſer earl of Gloceſter, widow of Richard Beauchamp earl of Worceſter, and afterwards by diſpenſation married to his couſin that potent and warlike peer, Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick. Their portraits on glaſs with others of their lineage were long extant in the church at Warwick. Her great templys † with the baleys ſold to the utmoſt, ſhe gave to the monks of Tewkſbury, ſo that they grucht not with her burial there, and what elſe ſhe had appointed to be done about the ſame. To our lady of Walſingham, her gown of green alyz cloth of gold with wide ſleeves, and a tabernacle of ſilver like in the timbre to that over our lady of Caverſham, and ordered that her great image of wax, then at London, ſhould be offered to our lady of Worceſter. To the abbey of Tewkſbury ſhe gave her wedding gown, and all her cloaths of gold and cloaths of ſilk without furs, ſaving one of ruſſet velvet which ſhe beſtowed on St. Winifrede.

† Jewels hanging on the foreheads of ladies by bodkins thruſt into their hair. See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 413.

But

But having thus diſpoſed of her wardrobe for the uſe of the ſaints, ſhe ſeems to have had very different thoughts about her ſelf, ordering that "a ſtatue of her ſhould be made all nakyd with her hair caſt backward, according to the deſign and model that one Thomas Porchalion had for that purpoſe." This extreme prohibition of all covering, I ſuppoſe, flowed from ſome principle of humility in this good lady, who having diveſted herſelf of all vain ornaments in favour of our lady and St. Winifrede, would not indulge her own perſon even in the covering of the hair of her head. And it looks, by the legacy to the monks above, as if ſhe had ſome apprehenſions that they would not reliſh or comprehend the delicacy of ſuch total rejection of all ſuperfluities. I was willing to mention this teſtament too, becauſe it ſeems to record even the name of an ancient ſtatuary. Other ſtatuaries and founders are mentioned in the coſt beſtowed on the tomb of the earl her huſband. Dugdale has preſerved the covenant between the executors and the artiſts. There I find John Eſſex, marbler, William Auſtin, founder, Thomas Stevens, copper-

ſmyth, John Bourde of Corffe caſtle, marbler, Bartholomew Lambſpring a Dutch gold-ſmith; they agree on all the particulars for the image on the tomb, and the little images and eſcutcheons round it. The tomb with the image ſtill extant in poliſhed braſs of the higheſt preſervation witneſſes that the artiſts were excellent enough to deſerve this memorial. John Prudde of Weſtminſter, called ſimply, glazier, appears to have painted the windows of the chapel; and it was particularly ſtipulated that "he ſhould employ no glaſs of England, but with glaſs beyond the ſeas, and that in the fineſt wiſe, with the beſt, cleaneſt, and ſtrongeſt glaſſe of beyond ſea that may be had in England, and of the fineſt colours of blew, yellow, red, purpure, ſanguine and violet, and of all other colours that ſhall be moſt neceſſary and beſt to make rich and embelliſh the matters, images and ſtories that ſhall be delivered and appointed by the ſaid executors by patterns in paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter in rich colour at the charges of the ſaid glazier." By all theſe circumſtances it is plain that the executors thought

thought that the magnificence of the intended monument muſt conſiſt in the value and ſhow of the materials, rather than in any excellence of the workmanſhip. This covenant carries us ſtill farther, and has even brought to light a hiſtory-painter of that time. *John Brentwood* citizen and ſteyner of London engages "to paint on the weſt wall of the chapel the dome of our Lord Jeſus and all manner of deviſes and imagery thereunto belonging, of fair and ſightly proportion, as the place ſhall ſerve for, with the fineſt colours and fine gold;" and *Kriſtian Coleburne*, another painter dwelling in London, undertakes to paint "in moſt fine, faireſt and curious wiſe four images of ſtone, of our lady, St. Gabraell the angel, St. Anne and St. George; theſe four to be painted with the fineſt oil colours, in the richeſt, fineſt and freſheſt clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, of fine purpure, of fine white, and other fineſt colours neceſſary, garniſhed, bordered and poudered in the fineſt and curiouſeſt wiſe."

This ſingular record contains too the prices ſtipulated for the ſeveral performances. The tomb was to coſt 125 *l.* ſterling;

ing; the image 40*l.* the gilding of the image and its appurtenances, 13*l.* The glaſs-painter was to have 2*s.* for every foot of glaſs, and ſo for the whole 91*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* The ſcripture-piece on the wall was to coſt 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the painting of the four images 12*l.* The whole expence of the chapel and monument, which were not compleated under one and twenty years, amounted to 2481*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*

The wealth and ſplendor of that family was ſo great, that Henry Beauchamp, ſon of Richard and Iſabel, was at the age of nineteen created premier Earl of England, and three days after he was made duke of Warwick, with precedence next to the duke of Norfolk and before the duke of Buckingham—an act of power ſo deſtructive of all the vanity of nobility and blood, that the duke of Buckingham could not digeſt it: It occaſioned ſuch animoſity, that the king was obliged to qualify his grant, by eſtabliſhing between the contending parties a rotation of ſeniority, each to take place alternately for a year, the ſurvivor to precede for his life the heir of the other, and ſo in perpetuum. A ſenſeleſs jumble, ſoon liquidated by

by a more egregious act of folly, the king with his own hand crowning the young duke of Warwick king of the iſle of Wight —nor can one eaſily conceive a more ridiculous circumſtance, than a man who had loſt the kingdom of France amuſing himſelf with beſtowing the diadem of the little iſle of Wight—but to return to our artiſts—I find the name of another ſculptor at the ſame aera; not employed indeed in any conſiderable work, and called only Richard the carver; he and one brother Rowſby a monk were engaged on ſome repairs in the church of St. Mary at Stanford †.

But the moſt valuable artiſts of that age were the illuminators of manuſcripts. Their drawing was undoubtedly ſtiff, but many of the ornaments, as animals, flowers and foliage they often painted in a good taſte, and finiſhed highly. To ſeveral miſſals were added portraits of the princes and princeſſes to whom they belonged, or for whom they were deſigned as preſents. The dreſſes and buildings of the times are preſerved, though by frequent anachroniſms applied to the

† See Peck's Antiquities of Stanford, lib. 14. cap. 5.

ages of ſcripture; and the gold and colours are of the greateſt brightneſs and beauty. Several receipts for laying theſe on are extant, particularly in the Britiſh Muſeum †. Dugdale from ſome of theſe illuminations has given cuts of two remarkable combats or tournaments performed in the 15th year of king Henry VI. ‡ in which the deſigns are far from unworthy of a better age; and the cuſtoms and habits delineated with great accuracy.

Henry himſelf, I ſuppoſe, had no taſte for the arts—the turbulent ambition of his queen left her as little—yet ſhe was the daughter of a prince, who was not only reckoned the beſt painter of his age, but who would really appear no mean performer in the preſent: This was Renè of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies, duke of Lorrain

† See Catal. Harl. MSS. No. 273. art. 34, where is alſo a receipt for painting on glaſs. In that collection is a MS. in which Henry VI. is repreſented looking out of a window in the tower. In Dufreſne's Greek Gloſſary are three receipts for illuminating under the article χρυσογραφια. There are two others in Montfaucon's Palaeographia Graeca.

‡ See Warwickſhire, p. 110.

and

and count of Provence, much known from having loſt almoſt all his dominions; yet it has been little remarked that he was one of the very few princes who did not deſerve to loſe them, having merited from his ſubjects the title of THE GOOD. His own picture painted by himſelf is ſtill extant in the chapel of the Carmelites at Aix, and the print from it in Montfaucon's Antiquities of France will juſtify what I have ſaid of this prince's talent.

In this age was finiſhed the cloyſter adjoining to the old church of St. Paul: It was built round a chapel in Pardon-church Hawgh, a place ſituated on the north ſide of the church, where Thomas More dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Henry V. reſtored an ancient chapel, but dying before he had accompliſhed it, it was finiſhed by his executors, by licenſe from Henry VI. On the walls of this cloyſter was painted, at the charge of Jenkyn Carpenter, a citizen of London, the Dance of Death, in imitation of that in the cloyſter adjoining to St. Innocent's church-yard at Paris. Underneath were Engliſh verſes (to explain the paintings) tranſlated from the French,

by John Lidgate the famous poetic monk of Bury. Dugdale has preſerved the lines, and Holbein by borrowing the thought, ennobled the pictures †.

In this reign John de Whethamſted abbot of St. Albans, a man of great learning and merit, adorned the chapel of our lady there with various paintings, as he did the ſides of the church and his own lodgings, under all which paintings he cauſed mottos and inſcriptions to be placed. At his manor of Tittenhanger he had pictures in the church of all the ſaints of his own name ‡.

I ſhall cloſe my notes on the ſtate of painting under Henry VI. with obſerving that the portraits on glaſs in the windows of the college of All Souls at Oxford were painted in his reign.

† See Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 134, and Stowe, 354.
‡ Chauncy, 445.

CHAP. III.

Continuation of the State of Painting to the End of HENRY VII.

WHETHER it was owing to the confuſions of his reign, or to his being born with little propenſity to the arts, we find but ſmall traces of their having flouriſhed under Edward IV. Brave, aſpiring and beautiful, his early age was waſted on every kind of conqueſt; as he grew older, he became arbitrary and cruel, not leſs voluptuous nor even ‡ more refined in his pleaſures. His picture on board, ſtiff and poorly painted, is preſerved at Kenſington—the whole length of him at St. James's in a night-gown and black cap was drawn many years after his death by Belcomp, of whom an account will be given hereafter.

‡ His device, a falcon and fetter-lock, with a quibbling motto in French, had not even delicacy to excuſe the witticiſm.

A por-

A portrait †, ſaid to be of his queen, in the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford, conveys no idea of her lovelineſs nor of any ſkill in the painter. Almoſt as few charms can be diſcovered in his favourite Jane Shore, preſerved at Eton, and probably an original, as her confeſſor was provoſt of that college, and by her interceſſion recovered their lands, of which they had been deſpoiled, as having owed their foundation to Edward's competitor. In this picture her forehead is remarkably large, her mouth and the reſt of her features ſmall; her hair of the admired golden colour ‡: A lock of it (if we may believe

† There is another at Queen's college Cambridge, of which ſhe was ſecond foundreſs; it ſeems to be of the time, but is not handſome.

‡ This picture anſwers to a much larger mentioned by Sir Thomas More; who, ſpeaking of her, ſays, "her ſtature was mean; her hair of a dark yellow, her face round and full, her eyes grey; delicate harmony being betwixt each part's proportions, and each proportion's colour; her body fat, white and ſmooth; her countenance chearfull, and like to her condition; the picture which I have ſeen of her was ſuch as ſhe roſe out of her bed in the morning, having nothing on but a rich mantle, caſt under one arm and over her ſhoulder, and ſitting in a chair, on which one arm

believe tradition) is ſtill extant in the collection of the counteſs of Cardigan, and is marvelouſly beautiful, ſeeming to be poudered with golden duſt without prejudice to its ſilken delicacy. The king himſelf, with his queen, eldeſt ſon and others of his court, are repreſented in a MS. in the library at Lambeth, from which an engraving was made, with an account of it, and prefixed to the Catalogue of Royal and noble Authors. It was purchaſed of Peacham by Sir Robert Cotton. Richard III. the ſucceſſor of theſe princes, appears in another old picture at Kenſington. In the princeſs dowager's houſe at Kew in a chamber of very ancient portraits, of which moſt are imaginary, is one very curious, as it is probably an original, of the duke of Norfolk killed at the battle of Boſworth.

arm did lie." The picture at Eton is not ſo large, and ſeems to have been drawn earlier than that Sir Thomas ſaw; it has not ſo much as the rich mantle over one ſhoulder. There is another portrait of Jane Shore to below the breaſts, in the provoſt's lodge at King's college, Cambridge; the body quite naked, the hair dreſſed with jewels, and a necklace of maſſive gold. It is painted on board, and from the meanneſs of the execution ſeems to be original.

Names

Names of artiſts in theſe reigns, of which even ſo few authentic records exiſt, are not to be expected—one I have found, the particulars of whoſe work are expreſſed with ſuch rude ſimplicity, that it may not be unentertaining to the reader to peruſe them. They are extracted from a book belonging to the church of St. Mary Ratcliffe at Briſtol.

Memorandum,

That maſter Cumings hath delivered the 4th day of July in the year of our Lord 1470 to Mr. Nicholas Bettes vicar of Ratcliffe, Moſes Couteryn, Philip Bartholemew, and John Brown, procurators of Ratcliffe beforeſaid, a new ſepulchre well-gilt, and cover thereto, an image of God Almighty ryſing out of the ſame ſepulchre, with all the ordinance that longeth thereto; that is to ſay,

A lath made of timber and iron work thereto;

Item, Thereto longeth *Heven*, made of timber, and ſtained cloth;

Item, Hell, made of timber and iron work, with devils, the number, thirteen;

Item, Four knights armed, keeping the ſepulchre, with their weapons in their hands, that

that is to ſay, two ſpears, two axes, two paves;

Item, Four pair of angel's wings, for four angels, made of timber and well-painted.

Item, The fadre, the crown and viſage, the bell with a croſs upon it well-gilt with fine gold;

Item, The Holy Ghoſt coming out of heven into the ſepulchre;

Item, Longeth to the angels four chevelers ‡.

HENRY VII. ſeems never to have laid out any money ſo willingly, as on what he could never enjoy, his tomb †—on that he was profuſe; but the very ſervice for

‡ This memorandum is copied from the minutes of the Antiquarian Society under the year 1736. *Twa paves:* A pave (in French, pavois or talevas) is a large buckler, forming an angle in front, like the ridge of a houſe, and big enough to cover the talleſt man from head to foot. *The bell with the croſs*: probably the ball or mound. *Four chevelers*: chevelures or perukes.

† The whole chapel, called by his name, is properly but his mauſoleum, he building it ſolely for the burial place of himſelf and the royal family, and accordingly ordering by his will that no other perſons ſhould be interred there. See Dart's Antiquities of Weſtminſter abbey, vol. i. p. 32. The tomb was the work of one Peter a Florentine, as one Peter a Roman made the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor.

which

which it was intended, probably comforted him with the thought that it would not be paid for 'till after his death. Being neither oſtentatious nor liberal, genius had no favour from him: He reigned as an attorney would have reigned, and would have preferred a conveyancer to Praxiteles.

Though painting in his age had attained it's brighteſt epoch ‡, no taſte reached this country. Why ſhould it have ſought us? the king penurious, the nobles humbled, what encouragement was there for abilities? what theme for the arts! barbarous executions, chicane, proceſſes, and mercenary treaties, were all a painter, a poet or a ſtatuary had to record — accordingly not one that deſerved the title (I mean natives) aroſe in that reign. The only names of painters that Vertue could recover of that period were both foreigners, and of one of them the account is indeed exceedingly ſlight; mention being barely made in the regiſter's office of Wells, that one Holbein lived and died here in the reign of Henry VII. Whether the father of the celebrated Holbein I ſhall inquire hereafter

‡ Raphael was born in 1483.

in

in the life of that painter—but of this perſon whoever he was, are probably ſome ancient limnings * in a cabinet at Kenſington, drawn before the great maſter of that name could have arrived here. Among them is the portrait of Henry VII. from whence Vertue engraved his print. The other painter had merit enough to deſerve a particular article; He was called

JOHN MABUSE or MABEUGIUS,

and was born at a little town of the ſame name in Hainault †, but in what year is uncertain, as is the year ‡ of his death. He had the two defects of his cotemporary countrymen, ſtiffneſs in his manner, and

* Two miniatures of Henry VII each in a black cap, and one of them with a roſe in his hand are mentioned in a MS. in the Harleian collection.

† Le Compt ſays it was in Hungary.

‡ Le Compt and Deſcamps ſay it was in 1562; a print of him, publiſhed by Galle, ſays "Fuit Hanno patriâ Malbodienſis; obiit Antwerpiae anno 1532, in cathedrali aede ſepultus;" but Vertue thought part of this inſcription was added to the plate many years after the firſt publication; and Sandrart whom I follow, ſays expreſsly that he could not diſcover when Mabuſe died. Vertue conjectured, that he lived to the age of fifty-two.

drunken-

drunkenneſs. Yet his induſtry was ſufficient to carry him to great lengths in his profeſſion. His works were clear and highly finiſhed. He was a friend rather than a rival of Lucas * of Leyden. After ſome practice at home he travelled into Italy, where he acquired more truth in treating naked ſubjects than freedom of expreſſion. Indeed Raphael himſelf had not then ſtruck out that majeſtic freedom, which has ſince animated painting, and delivered it from the ſervility of coldly copying motionleſs nature. Mabuſe ſo far improved his taſte, as to introduce among his countrymen poetic hiſtory, for ſo I ſhould underſtand † Sandrart's varia poemata conficiendi, if it is meant as a mark of real taſte, rather than what a later ‡ author aſcribes to Mabuſe, that he firſt treated hiſtoric ſubjects allegorically. I never could conceive that riddles and rebus's (and I look upon ſuch emblems as little better) are any improvements upon hiſtory. Allegoric perſonages

* Lucas made an entertainment for Mabuſe and other artiſts that coſt him ſixty florins of gold.

† P. 234.

‡ Deſcamps, Vies des Peintres Flamands, p. 83.

are

are a poor decompoſition of human nature, whence a ſingle quality is ſeparated and erected into a kind of half deity, and then to be rendered intelligible, is forced to have its name written by the accompanyment of ſymbols. You muſt be a natural philoſopher before you can decypher the vocation of one of theſe ſimplified divinities. Their dog, or their bird, or their goat, or their implement, or the colour of their cloaths, muſt all be expounded, before you know who the perſon is to whom they belong, and for what virtue the hero is to be celebrated, who has all this hieroglyphic cattle around him. How much more genius is there in expreſſing the paſſions of the ſoul in the lineaments of the countenance! Would Meſſalina's character be more ingeniouſly drawn in the warmth of her glances, or by ranſacking a farm-yard for every animal of a congenial conſtitution?

A much admired work of Mabuſe was an altar-piece at Middleburgh, † a deſcent from the croſs: Albert Durer went on purpoſe to ſee and praiſed it. Indeed

† Painted for the abbot Maximilian of Burgundy, who died 1524.

their ſtyle was very like: A picture of Mabuſe now at St. James's is generally called Albert's. The piece at Middleburgh was deſtroyed by lightning. A great number of Mabuſe's works were preſerved in the ſame city in the time of Carl Vermander. M. Magnus at Delft had another deſcent from the croſs by this maſter. The * Sieur Wyntgis at Amſterdam had a Lucretia by him. But one of his moſt ſtriking performances was the decollation of St. John, painted in the ſhades of a ſingle colour.

The Marquis de Veren took him into his own houſe, where he drew the Virgin and Child, borrowing the ideas of their heads from the Marquis's lady and ſon. This was reckoned his capital piece. It afterwards paſſed into the cabinet of M. Froſmont.

While he was in this ſervice, the Emperor Charles V. was to lodge at the houſe of that lord, who made magnificent preparations for his reception, and among other expences ordered all his houſhold to be dreſſed in white damaſk. Mabuſe, always wanting money to waſte in debauchery,

* Mint-maſter of Zeland.

when

when the tailor came to take his meaſure, deſired to have the damaſk, under pretence of inventing a ſingular habit. He ſold the ſtuff, drank out the money, and then painted a ſuit of paper ſo like damaſk, that it was not diſtinguiſhed, as he marched in the proceſſion, between a philoſopher and a poet, other penſioners of the Marquis, who being informed of the trick, aſked the Emperor which of the three ſuits he liked beſt: The Prince pointed to Mabuſe's, as excelling in the whiteneſs and beauty of the flowers; nor did he 'till convinced by the touch, doubt of the genuineneſs of the ſilk. The Emperor laughed much—but, though a lover of the art, ſeems to have taken no other notice of Mabuſe; whoſe exceſſes ſome time after occaſioned his being flung into priſon at Middleburgh, where however he continued to work. Vermander had ſeen ſeveral good drawings by him in black chalk.

At what time Mabuſe came to England I do not find; Vermander ſays expreſly that he was here, and the portraits drawn by him are a confirmation. The picture of Prince Arthur, Prince Henry and Princeſs Mar-

garet, when children, now in the china-cloſet at Windſor, was done by him. A neat little copy of, or rather his original deſign for it, in black and white oil-colours is at the Duke of Leeds's at Kiveton.* Sandrart ſpeaks of the pictures of two noble youths drawn by him at Whitehall. Over one of the doors in the King's anti-chamber at St. James's is his picture of Adam and Eve, which formerly hung in the gallery at Whitehall, thence called the Adam and Eve gallery. † Martin Papenbroech, for-

* There is another of theſe in ſmall in queen Caroline's cloſet at Kenſington, another, very good, at Wilton, and another in Mr. Methuen's collection. One of theſe pictures, I do not know which of them, was ſold out of the royal collection, during the civil war, for ten pounds. The picture that was at Kiveton is now in London, and is not entirely black and white, but the carnations are pale, and all the ſhadows tinged with pure black: but that was the manner of painting at the time; blues, reds greens and yellows not being blended in the gradations.

† Evelyn in the preface to his idea of the perfection of painting, mentions this picture, painted, as he calls him, by Malvagius, and objects to the abſurdity of repreſenting Adam and Eve with navels, and a fountain with carved imagery in Paradiſe—the latter remark is juſt; the former is only worthy of a critical man-midwife.

merly

merly a famous collector in Holland, had another of them. It was brought over as a picture of Raphael in his first manner, in the time of Vertue, who by the exact description of it in Vermander discovered it to be of Mabuse. It was sold however for a considerable price.* In a MS. catalogue of the collection of King Charles I. taken in the year 1649, and containing some pictures that are not in the printed list, I find mention made of an old man's head by Mabuse; Sir Peter Lely had the story of Hercules and Deianira by him.† The only ‡ work besides that I know of this master in England, is a celebrated picture in my possession. It was bought for 200 *l.* by Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret, and hung for some years at their seat at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, whence it was sold after the late earl's death.* The earl of Oxford once offered 500 *l.* for it.§ It is painted

* It is now at the Grange in Hampshire, the seat of the lord chancellor Henley.

† See catalogue of his collection, p. 48. N°. 99.

‡ I have since bought a small one of Christ crowned with thorns by him, with his name Malbodius, on it; and Mr. Raspe mentions another at Rochester: Essay on oil painting, p. 56.

§ I gave eighty-four pounds.

on board and is four feet ſix inches and three quarters wide by three feet ſix inches and three quarters high. It repreſents the inſide of a church, an imaginary one, not at all reſembling the abbey where thoſe princes were married. The perſpective and the landſcape of the country on each ſide are good. On one hand on the fore ground ſtand the king and the biſhop of Imola who pronounced the nuptial benediction. His majeſty * is a triſt, lean, ungracious figure, with a down-caſt look, very expreſſive of his mean temper, and of the little ſatisfaction he had in the match. Oppoſite to the biſhop is the queen, † a buxom well-looking damſel, with golden hair. By her is a figure, above all proportion with the reſt, unleſs intended, as I imagine, for an emblematic perſonage, and deſigned from its lofty ſtature to give an idea of ſomething above

* He is extremely like his profile on a ſhilling.

† Her image preſerved in the abbey, among thoſe curious but mangled figures of ſome of our princes, which were carried at their interments, and now called the ragged regiment, has much the ſame countenance. A figure in Merlin's cave was taken from it. In a MS. account of her coronation in the Cottonian library mention is made of her fair yellow hair hanging at length upon her ſhoulders.

human.

human. It is an elderly man, * dreſſed like a monk, except that his habit is green; his feet bare, and a ſpear in his hand. As the frock of no religious order ever was green, this cannot be meant for a friar. Probably it is St. Thomas, repreſented, as in the martyrologies, with the inſtrument of his death. The queen might have ſome devotion to that peculiar ſaint, or might be born or married on his feſtival. Be that as it may, the picture, though in a hard manner, has it's merit, independent of the curioſity.

John Schorel ſtudied ſome time under Mabuſe, but quitted him on account of his irregularities, by which Schorel was once in danger of his life. Paul Van Aelſt excelled in copying Mabuſe's works, and John Moſtart aſſiſted the latter in his works at Middleburgh.

In the library of St. John's college Cam-

* This allegoric figure ſeems to agree with the account of Deſcamps mentioned above, and Mabuſe might have learned in Italy that the Romans always repreſented their divine perſonages larger than the human, as is evident from every model whereon are a Genius and an Emperor.

bridge is an original of their foundreſs Margaret of Richmond, the king's mother, much damaged, and the painter not known. Mr. Weſt has a curious miſſal (the painter unknown) which belonged to Margaret queen of Scotland, and was a preſent from her father Henry VII. His name of his own writing is in the firſt page. The queen's portrait praying to St. Margaret, appears twice in the illuminations, and beneath ſeveral of them are the arms and matches of the houſe of Somerſet, beſides repreſentations of the twelve months, well painted.

In this reign died John Rous, the antiquary of Warwickſhire, who drew his own portrait and other ſemblances, but in too rude a manner to be called paintings.

CHAP. IV.

Painters in the Reign of Henry VIII.

1509.

THE acceſſion of this ſumptuous prince brought along with it the eſtabliſhment of the arts. He was opulent, grand and liberal — how many invitations to artiſts! A man of taſte encourages abilities; a man of expence, any performers; but when a king is magnificent, whether he has taſte or not, the influence is ſo extenſive, and the example ſo catching, that even merit has a chance of getting bread. Though Henry had no genius to ſtrike out the improvements of latter ages, he had parts enough to chuſe the beſt of what the then world exhibited to his option. He was gallant as far as the ruſticity of his country and the boiſterous indelicacy of his own complexion would admit. His tournaments contracted, in imitation of the French, a kind

kind of romantic politeneſs. In one * which he held on the birth of his firſt child, he ſtyled himſelf *Coeur Loyal.* In his interview with Francis I. in the vale of Cloth of Gold, he revived the pageantry of the days of Amadis. He and his favorite Charles Brandon, were the prototypes of thoſe illuſtrious heroes, with which Mademoiſelle Scuderi has enriched the world of chivalry. The Favorite's motto on his marriage with the monarch's ſiſter retained that moral ſimplicity, now totally exploded by the academy of ſentiments;

> Cloth of gold do not deſpiſe,
> Tho' thou be matched with cloth of frize;
> Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
> Tho' thou be matched with cloth of gold.

Francis the firſt was the ſtandard which theſe princely champions copied. While he contended with Charles V. for empire, he rivalled our Henry in pomp and protection of the arts. Francis handelled the pencil himſelf; I do not find that Henry puſhed

* See a deſcription and exhibition of this tournament among the prints publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i.

his

his imitation ſo far; but though at laſt He wofully unravelled moſt of the purſuits of his early age, (for at leaſt it was great violation of galantry to cut off the heads of the fair damſels whoſe true knight he had been, and there is no forgiving him that deſtruction of ancient monuments and gothic piles and painted glaſs by the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries; a reformation, as he called it, which we antiquaries almoſt devoutly lament) yet he had countenanced the arts ſo long, and they acquired ſuch ſolid foundation here, that they were ſcarce eradicated by that ſecond ſtorm which broke upon them during the civil war,—an æra we antiquaries lament with no leſs devotion than the former.

Henry had ſeveral painters in his ſervice, and, as Francis invited Primaticcio and other maſters from Italy, he endeavoured to tempt hither Raphael † and Titian. Some performers he did get from that country, of whom we know little but

† Raphael did paint a St. George for him, which has ſince been in Monſr. Crozat's collection. See Recueil des plus beaux tableaux qui ſont en France, p. 13.

their names. Jerome di Treviſi * was both his painter and engineer, and attending him in the latter quality to the ſiege of Boulogne, was killed at the age of thirty-ſix. Joannes Corvus was a Fleming. Vertue diſcovered his name on the ancient picture of Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtill preſerved at Oxford. It was painted in the beginning of the reign of this king, after the prelate had loſt his ſight. The painter's name *Johannes Corvus Flandrus faciebat* is on the frame, which is of the ſame age with the picture, and coloured in imitation of red marble with veins of green †.

Others of Henry's painters are recorded in an office-book ‡ ſigned monthly by the king himſelf, and containing payments of wages, preſents, &c. probably by the treaſurer of the chambers Sir Brian Tuke. It

* He is mentioned by Ridolphi in the lives of the painters. Some ſketches of ſieges at that time, probably by his hand, are preſerved in a book in the Cotton-library.

† There are two or three pictures of the ſame prelate in the college, but this is probably the original; is flat and a poor performance.

‡ It was in the collection of Mrs. Bridgman of Hanover-ſquare.

begins

begins in his twenty-firſt year, and contains part of that and the two next years compleat. There appear the following names.

An°. reg. xxii. Nov. 8. Paid to Anthony Toto and Barthol. Penne, painters, for their livery coats xlv *s.*

An°. reg. xxiii. Jan. xv day. Paid to Anthony Toto paynter, by the king's commandment xx *l.*

In another book of office * Vertue found theſe memorandums,

March 1538. Item to Anthony Toto and Bartilmew Penn, painters, 12 pounds, 10 ſhillings, their quarterly payments between them; alſo preſents on new-year's day 1539.

To Anthony Toto's ſervant that brought the king at Hampton-court a depicted table of Colonia 7 ſhillings and 8 pence.

Feb. An°. reg. xxix. Gerard Luke Horneband painter 56 ſhillings and 9 pence per month.

Toto was afterwards ſerjeant painter, and in Rymer are his letters of naturalization under this title.

† An°. 30 HEN. VIII. 1583. Pro. pictore regis de indigenatione.

* In the library of the Royal Society.

† Foedera, vol. xiv. p. 595.

Felibien

Felibien mentions this painter and his coming to England; * ſpeaking of Ridolphi, fils de Dominique Ghirlandaio, he ſays, "Chez luy il y avoit Toto del Nuntiato, qui depuis ſ'en alla en Angleterre, ou il fit pluſieurs ouvrages de peinture et d'architecture, avec lequel Perrin fit amitiè, et à l'envie l'un de l'autre ſ'efforcoit à bien faire."

But Toto's works are all loſt or unknown, his fame with that of his aſſociates being obſcured by the luſtre of Holbein.

Penne or Penn, mentioned above, is called by Vaſari, not Bartholemew, but Luca Penni; he was brother of Gio. Franceſco Penni, a favorite and imitator of Raphael. Luca, or Bartholomew (for it is undoubtedly the ſame perſon) worked ſome time at Genoa and in other parts of Italy, from whence he came into England, and painted ſeveral pieces for the king, and for ſome merchants here †. In a ſmall room

* Tom. ii. p. 158.

† Vaſari adds, that Luca Penni addicted himſelf latterly to making deſigns for Flemiſh engravers. This is the mark on his prints, ℛ that is, Luca Penni Romano.

called

called the confeſſionary near the chapel at Hampton-court, Vertue found ſeveral ſcripture ſtories painted on wainſcot, particularly the paſſion. He and Sir James Thornhill agreed that they were much in the ſtyle of Raphael, particularly the ſmall figures and landſcapes in the perſpective, and not at all in the German taſte. Theſe Vertue concluded to be of Luca Penni.

To ſome of theſe painters Vertue aſcribes, with great probability, the battle of the ſpurs, the triumphs of the valley of cloth of gold, and the expedition * to Boulogne, three curious pictures now at Windſor; † commonly ſuppoſed by Holbein, but not only beneath his excellence, but painted (at leaſt two of them) if painted as in all likelyhood they were on the ſeveral occaſions, before the arrival of that great maſter in England.

* It is not very ſurprizing, that a prince of ſeemingly ſo martial a diſpoſition ſhould make ſo little figure in the roll of conquerors, when we obſerve by this picture that the magnificence of his armament engaged ſo much of his attention. His ſhips are as ſumptuous as Cleopatra's gally on the Cydnus.

† This bad judgment was made even by Mr. Evelyn in his diſcourſe on medals.

Of

Of another painter mentioned in the payments above, we know ſtill leſs than of Toto. He is there called Gerard Luke Horneband. Vermander and Deſcamps call him Gerard Horrebout, and both mention him as painter to Henry VIII. He was of Ghent, where were his principal works, but none are known in England as his. † In the ſame book of payments are mentioned two other painters, Andrew Oret, and one Ambroſe, painter to the queen of Navarre. The former indeed was of no great rank, receiving 30 *l.* for painting and covering the king's barge; the latter had 20 crowns for bringing a picture to the king's grace at Eltham.

Henry had another ſerjeant-painter, whoſe name was Andrew Wright; he lived in Southwark and had a grant ‡ of arms from Sir Thomas Wriotheſly, Garter. His motto

† Suſanna, the ſiſter of Luke Horneband, painter in miniature, was invited, ſays Vaſari, into the ſervice of Henry VIII. and lived honorably in England to the end of her life.

‡ From a MS. in the poſſeſſion of the late Peter Leneve Norroy. In the Britiſh Muſeum, among the Harleian MSS. is a grant of arms and creſt to the Craft of Painters dated in the firſt year of Henry VIII.

was,

was, En Vertu Delice; but he never attained any renown; indeed this was in the beginning of Henry's reign before the art itſelf was upon any reſpectable footing: they had not arrived even at the common terms for it's productions. In the inventory in the augmentation-office which I have mentioned, containing an account of goods, pictures and furniture in the palace of Weſtminſter, under the care of Sir Anthony Denny keeper of the wardrobe, it appears that they called a picture, *a table with a picture*; prints, *cloths ſtained with a picture*; and models and baſreliefs, they termed *pictures of earth*; for inſtance,

Item, One table with the picture of the ducheſs of Milan, being her whole ſtature.

Item, One table with the hiſtory of Filius Prodigus.

Item, One folding table of the paſſion, ſet in gilt leather.

Item, One table like a book with the pictures of the king's majeſty and queen Jane.

Item, One other table with the whole ſtature of my lord prince his grace, ſtained upon cloth with a curtain.

Item, One table of the hiſtory of Chriſtiana Patientia.

Item, One table of the paſſion, of cloth of gold, adorned with pearls and rubies.

Item, One table of ruſſet and black, of the parable of the 18th chapter of Matthew, raiſed with liquid gold and ſilver.

Item, One table of the king's highneſs, ſtanding upon a mitre with three crowns, having a ſerpent with ſeven heads going out of it, and having a ſword in his hand, whereon is written, Verbum Dei.

Item, One cloth ſtained with Phebus rideing with his cart in the air, with the hiſtory of him.

Item, One picture of Moſes made of earth, and ſet in a box of wood. *

Another

* In an old chapter-houſe at Chriſt church Oxford I diſcovered two portraits, admirably painted and in the moſt perfect preſervation, which certainly belonged to Henry VIII. the one an elderly, the other, a young man, both in black bonnets, and large as life. On the back of the one is this mark, N°. HR 22; on the other, N°. HR 25. In the catalogue of King Henry's pictures in the augmentation office, N°. 25. is Frederic Duke of Saxony, N°. 26. is Philip Archduke of Auſtria; in all probability theſe very pictures. They have a great

Another ſerjeant-painter in this reign was John Brown, * who if he threw no great luſtre on his profeſſion, was at leaſt a benefactor to its profeſſors. In the 24th of Henry he built painter's hall for the company, † where his portrait is ſtill preſerved among other pictures given by perſons of the ſociety. Their firſt charter in which they are ſtyled Peyntours, was granted in

great deal of the manner of Holbein, certainly not inferior to it, but are rather more free and bold. Frederic, the wiſe, Duke of Saxony, died in 1525, about a year before Holbein came to England, but the Archduke Philip died when Holbein was not above eight years of age: Holbein might have drawn this Prince from another picture, as a ſmall one of him when a boy, in my poſſeſſion, has all the appearance of Holbein's hand. Whoever painted the pictures at Oxford, they are two capital portraits.

* His arms were, argent, on a feſs counter-embatteled, ſable, three eſcallops of the firſt; on a canton, quarterly gules and azure, a leopard's head caboſhed, or.

† Camden, whoſe father was a painter in the Old-Bailey, gave a ſilver cup and cover to the company of Painter-Stainers, which they uſe on St. Luke's day at their election, the old maſter drinking out of it to his ſucceſſor elect. Upon this cup is the following inſcription; Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux, filius Samſonis, pictoris Londinenſis, dedit. Maitland.

the 6th of Edward IV. but they had exiſted as a fraternity long before. Holme Clarenceux, in the 1ſt of Henry VII. granted them arms, viz. azure, a chevron, or, between three heads of phoenixes eraſed. They were again incorporated or confirmed by charter of the 23d of queen Elizabeth, 1581, by the title of Painter-ſtainers.

In this reign flouriſhed

LUCAS CORNELII.*

Who was both ſon and ſcholar of Cornelius Engelbert, but reduced to ſupport himſelf as a cook, ſo low at that time were ſunk the arts in Leyden, his country. He excelled both in oil and miniature, and hearing the encouragement beſtowed on his profeſſion by Henry VIII. came to England with his wife and ſeven or eight children, and was made his majeſty's painter. Some of his works in both kinds are ſtill preſerved at Leyden; one particularly, the ſtory of the woman taken in adultery. His chief performances extant in England are at Penſhurſt, as appears by this mark on

* See Sandrart, p. 232.

one

one of them ℄, that is, Lucas Cornelii pinxit. They are a ſeries, in * ſixteen pieces, of the conſtables of Queenborough caſtle from the reign of Edward III. to Sir Thomas Cheyne knight of the garter in the 3d of *Henry VIII.* Though not all originals, they undoubtedly are very valuable, being in all probability painted from the beſt memorials then extant; and ſome of them, repreſentations of remarkable perſons, of whom no other image remains. Of theſe, the greateſt curioſities are, Robert de Vere, the great duke of Ireland, and George, the unfortunate Duke of Clarence. Harris, in his hiſtory of Kent, † quotes an itinerary by one Johnſton, who ſays, that in 1629, he ſaw at the houſe of the miniſter of Gillingham, the portrait of Sir Edward Hobby, the laſt governor but one, who had carefully aſſembled all the portraits of his predeceſſors, and added his own; but at that time they were all loſt or diſperſed.

* One of them, I have heard, was given by Mr. Perry, the laſt maſter of Penſhurſt, to Mr. Velters Cornwall. It was the portrait of his anceſtor Sir John Cornwall.

† P. 377.

He did not know it ſeems that they had been removed to Penſhurſt; nor can we now diſcover at what time they were tranſported thither.

Many more of the works of Lucas Cornelii were bought up and brought to England by merchants who followed Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter into the Low-countries, and who had obſerved how much this maſter was eſteemed here. However, none of theſe performers were worthy the patronage of ſo great a Prince; his munificence was but ill beſtowed 'till it centered on

HANS HOLBEIN.

Few excellent artiſts have had more juſtice done to their merit than Holbein. His country has paid the higheſt honours to his memory and to his labours. His life has been frequently written; every circumſtance that could be recovered in relation to him has been ſedulouſly preſerved; and, as always happens to a real genius, he has been complimented with a thouſand wretched performances that were unworthy of him. The year of his birth, the place

of

of his birth have been conteſted; yet it is certain that the former happened in 1498, and the latter moſt probably was Baſil. His father was a painter of Auſburg, and ſo much eſteemed, that the Lord of Walberg paid an hundred florins to the monaſtery of St. Catherine for a large picture of the ſalutation painted by him. He executed too in half figures the life of St. Paul, on which he wrote this inſcription, "This work was compleated by J. Holbein, a citizen of Auſburg, 1499." John Holbein, the elder, had a brother called Sigiſmond, a painter too. Hans, ſo early as 1512, drew the pictures of both, which came into the poſſeſſion of Sandrart, who has engraved them in his book, and which, if not extremely improved by the engraver, are indeed admirable performances for a boy of fourteen.

I have ſaid that in the regiſter's office of Wells there is mention of a Holbein who died here in the reign of Henry VII. Had it been the father, it would probably have been mentioned by ſome of the biographers of the ſon; but I find it no where hinted that the father was ever in Eng-

land. It is more likely to have been the uncle, who we have ſeen was a painter, and do not find that he was a very good one. He might have come over, and died here in obſcurity.

Holbein's inclination to drawing appeared very early, and could not fail of being encouraged in a family * ſo addicted to the art. His father himſelf inſtructed him; and he learned beſides, graving, caſting, modelling and architecture: in the two latter branches he was excellent. Yet with both talents and taſte, he for ſome time remained in indigence, diſſipating with women what he acquired by the former, and drowning in wine the delicacy of the latter. At that time Eraſmus was retired to Baſil, a man, whoſe luck of fame was derived from all the circumſtances which he himſelf reckoned unfortunate. He lived when learning was juſt emerging out of barbariſm, and ſhone by lamenting elegantly the defects of his cotemporaries. His being one of the firſt to attack ſuperſtitions which he had not courage to relinquiſh, gave him

* Holbein had two brothers, Ambroſe and Bruno, who were alſo painters at Baſil.

merit

merit in the eyes of proteſtants, while his time-ſerving had an air of moderation; and his very poverty, that threw him into ſervile adulation, expreſſed itſelf in terms that were beautifull enough to be tranſmitted to poſterity. His cupboard of plate, all preſented to him by the greateſt men of the age, was at once a monument of his flattery and genius. With a mind ſo poliſhed no wonder he diſtinguiſhed the talents of young Holbein. He was warmly recommended to employment by Eraſmus and Amerbach, * a printer of that city. He painted the picture of the latter in 1519, who ſhowing him the Moriae Encomium of the former, Holbein drew on the margin many of the characters deſcribed in the book. Eraſmus was ſo pleaſed with thoſe ſketches that he kept the book ten days—the ſubſequent incidents were trifling indeed, and not much to the honour of the politeneſs of either. Holbein, rudely enough, wrote under the figure of an old ſtudent, the name of Eraſmus. The

* See an account of him in Palmer's hiſtory of printing, p. 218.

author,

author, with very little ſpirit of repartee, wrote under a fellow drinking, the name of Holbein. Theſe are anecdotes certainly not worth repeating for their importance, but very deſcriptive of the eſteem in which two men were held of whom ſuch anecdotes could be thought worth preſerving. *

Supported by the protection of theſe friends, Holbein grew into great reputation. The earl of Arundel † returning from Italy through Baſil, ſaw his works, was charmed with them, and adviſed him to go into England. At firſt Holbein neglected this advice; but in 1526 his family

* In the Moriae Encomium publiſhed at Baſil by M. Patin, 1656, with cuts from Holbein's deſigns, there is a large account of him collected by Patin, and a catalogue of his works. On thoſe drawings were written the following lines;

Rex Macedon Coo tumidus pictore, cani ſe
Maeoniae doluit non potuiſſe ſene.
Stultitiae potior ſors eſt; hanc alter Apelles
Pingit, et eloquium laudat, Erafme, tuum.
Seb. Feſchius Baſil.

† Others ſay it was the earl of Surrey who was travelling into Italy; and that Holbein not recollecting his name, drew his picture by memory, and Sir Thomas More immediately knew it to be that lord.

and

and the froward temper of his wife increaſing, and his buſineſs declining, he determined upon that journey.

At firſt he ſaid he ſhould quit Baſil but for a time, and only to raiſe the value of his works, which were growing too numerous there; yet before he went, he intimated that he ſhould leave a ſpecimen of the power of his abilities. He had ſtill at his houſe a portrait that he had juſt finiſhed for one of his patrons—on the forehead he painted a fly, and ſent the picture to the perſon for whom it was deſigned. The gentleman ſtruck with the beauty of the piece, went eagerly to bruſh off the fly—and found the deceit. The ſtory ſoon ſpread, and as ſuch trifling deceptions often do, made more impreſſion than greater excellencies. Orders were immediately given to prevent the city being deprived of ſo wonderfull an artiſt—but Holbein had withdrawn himſelf privately. Eraſmus had given him recommendatory letters to Sir Thomas More, with a preſent of his own picture by Holbein, which he aſſured the Chancellor was more like than one drawn by Albert Durer.

Durer.* Holbein ſtopped for a ſhort time at Antwerp, having other letters for P. Aegidius, a common friend of Eraſmus and

* At lord Folkſton's at Longford in Wiltſhire, are the portraits of Eraſmus and Aegidius, ſaid to be drawn by Holbein; they belonged to Dr. Meade, and while in his collection had the following lines written on the frames, and ſtill remaining there: On that of Eraſmus,

E tenebris clarum doctrinae attollere lumen
Qui felix potuit, primus Eraſmus erat.

On Aegidius.

Aegidium muſis charum dilexit Eraſmus;
Spirat ab Holbenio pictus uterque tuo.

The latter is far the better; that of Eraſmus, is ſtiff and flat. However this is believed to be the very picture which Eraſmus ſent by Holbein himſelf to Sir Thomas More, and which was afterwards in the cabinet of Andrew de Loo and from thence paſſed into the Arundelian collection. But I ſhould rather think it is the picture which was in king Charles's (ſee his catal. No. 13, p. 154.) where it is ſaid to have been painted by George Spence of Nuremberg. Quintin Matſis too painted Aegidius, with which Sir Thomas More was ſo pleaſed, that he wrote a panegyric on the painter, beginning,

Quintine, o veteris novator artis,
Magno non minor artifex Apelle.

Aegidius held a letter in his hand from Sir Thomas, with his hand-writing ſo well imitated, that More could not diſtinguiſh it himſelf. Quintin too in the year 1521 drew the picture of the celebrated phyſician Dr. Linacre.

More.

More. In thoſe letters the former tells Aegidius, that Holbein was very deſirous of ſeeing the works of Quintin Matſis, the celebrated black-ſmith painter, whoſe tools, it is ſaid, Love converted into a pencil. Of this maſter Holbein had no reaſon to be jealous: With great truth and greater labour, Quintin's pictures are inferior to Holbein's. The latter ſmoothed the ſtiffneſs of his manner by a velvet ſoftneſs and luſtre of colouring; the performances of his cotemporary want that perfecting touch; nor are there any evidences that Quintin could aſcend above the coarſeneſs or deformities of nature. Holbein was equal to dignified character—He could expreſs the piercing genius of More, or the grace of Ann Boleyn. Employed by More, Holbein was employed as he ought to be: This was the happy moment of his pencil; from painting the author, he roſe to the philoſopher, and then ſunk to work for the king. I do not know a ſingle countenance into which any maſter has poured greater energy of expreſſion than in the drawing of Sir Thomas More at Kenſington: It has a freedom, a boldneſs of thought and acuteneſs

neſs of penetration that atteſt the ſincerity of the reſemblance. It is Sir Thomas More in the rigour of his ſenſe, not in the ſweetneſs of his pleaſantry—Here he is the unblemiſhed magiſtrate, not that amiable philoſopher, whoſe humility neither power nor piety could elate, and whoſe mirth even martyrdom could not ſpoil. Here he is rather that ſingle cruel judge whom one knows not how to hate, and who in the vigour of abilities, of knowledge and good humour perſecuted others in defence of ſuperſtitions that he himſelf had expoſed; and who capable of diſdaining life at the price of his ſincerity, yet thought that God was to be ſerved by promoting an impoſture; who triumphed over Henry and Death, and ſunk to be an accomplice, at leaſt the dupe, of the holy maid of Kent!

Holbein was kindly received by More and was taken into his houſe at Chelſea. There he worked for near three years, drawing the portraits of Sir Thomas, his relations and friends. The king viſiting the chancellor, ſaw ſome of thoſe pictures, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction. Sir Thomas begged him to accept which ever he liked

liked—but he enquired for the painter, who was introduced to him. Henry immediately took him into his own ſervice, and told the chancellor, that now he had got the artiſt, he did not want the pictures. An apartment in the palace was immediately allotted to Holbein, with a ſalary of 200 florins, beſides his being paid for his pictures: The price of them I no where find.

Patin ſays that after three years Holbein returned to Baſil to diſplay his good fortune, but ſoon returned to England. It is not probable that he lived ſo long with Sir Thomas More as is aſſerted. He drew the king ſeveral times, and I ſuppoſe all his queens, though no portrait of Catherine Parr is certainly known to be of his hand. He painted too the king's children, and the chief perſons of the court, as will be mentioned hereafter. The writers of his life relate a ſtory, which Vermander, his firſt biographer, affirms came from Dr. Iſely of Baſil and from Amerbach: yet, in another place, Vermander complaining of the latter, to whom he ſays he applied for anecdotes relating to Holbein and his works;

after eight or ten years could get no other anſwer, than that it would coſt a great deal of trouble to ſeek after thoſe things, and that he ſhould expect to be well paid. The ſtory is, that one day as Holbein was privately drawing ſome lady's picture for the king, a great lord forced himſelf into the chamber. Holbein threw him down ſtairs; the peer cried out; Holbein bolted himſelf in, eſcaped over the top of the houſe, and running directly to the king, fell on his knees, and beſought his majeſty to pardon him, without declaring the offence. The king promiſed to forgive him if he would tell the truth; but ſoon began to repent, ſaying he ſhould not eaſily overlook ſuch inſults, and bad him wait in the apartment 'till he had learned more of the matter. Immediately arrived the lord with his complaint, but ſinking the provocation. At firſt the monarch heard the ſtory with temper, but broke out, reproaching the nobleman with his want of truth, and adding, "You have not to do with Holbein, but with me; I tell you, of ſeven peaſants I can make as many lords, but not one Holbein—begone, and remember, that if you

you ever pretend to revenge yourſelf, I ſhall look on any injury offered to the painter as done to myſelf." Henry's behaviour is certainly the moſt probable part of the ſtory. *

After the death of Jane Seymour, Holbein was ſent to Flanders to draw the picture of the ducheſs dowager of Milan †, widow of Francis Sforza, whom Charles V. had recommended to Henry for a fourth wife, but afterwards changing his mind, prevented him from marrying. Among the Harleian MSS. there is a letter from Sir Thomas Wyat to the king, congratulating his majeſty on his eſcape, as the ducheſs's chaſtity was a little equivocal. If it was, conſidering Henry's temper, I am apt to think that the ducheſs had the greater eſcape. It was about the ſame time that it is ſaid ſhe herſelf ſent the king word, "That ſhe had but one head; if ſhe had

* Lovelace, in his collection of poems called Lucaſta, has an epigram on this ſubject, but it is not worth repeating.

† Chriſtiana daughter of Chriſtiern king of Denmark. Lord Herbert ſays that Holbein drew her picture in three hours, p. 496.

" two, one of them ſhould be at his ma-
" jeſty's ſervice."*

Holbein was next diſpatched by Cromwell to draw the lady Anne of Cleve, and by practicing the common flattery of his profeſſion, was the immediate cauſe of the deſtruction of that great ſubject, and of the diſgrace that fell on the princeſs herſelf. He drew ſo favorable a † likeneſs, that

* Vertue ſaw a whole length of this princeſs at Mr. Howard's in Soho-ſquare. Such a picture is mentioned to have been in the royal collections.

† This very picture, as is ſuppoſed, was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Barrett of Kent, whoſe collection was ſold a few years ago, but the family reſerved this and ſome other curioſities. The print among the illuſtrious heads is taken from it; and ſo far juſtifies the king, that he certainly was not nice, if from that picture he concluded her handſome enough. It has ſo little beauty, that I ſhould doubt of it's being the very portrait in queſtion—it rather ſeems to have been drawn after Holbein ſaw a little with the king's eyes.

I have ſince ſeen that picture in the cabinet of the preſent Mr. Barrett of Lee, and think it the moſt exquiſitely perfect of all Holbein's works, as well as in the higheſt preſervation. The print gives a very inadequate idea of it, and none of her Flemiſh fairneſs. It is preſerved in the ivory box in which it came over, and which repreſents a roſe ſo delicately carved as to be worthy of the jewel it contains.

Henry

Henry was content to wed her—but when he found her ſo inferior to the miniature, the ſtorm which really ſhould have been directed at the painter, burſt on the miniſter; and Cromwell loſt his head, becauſe Anne was *a Flanders mare*, not a Venus, as Holbein had repreſented her.

Little more occurs memorable of this great painter, but that in 1538, the city of Baſil, on the increaſe of his fame, beſtowed an annuity of fifty florins on him for two years, hoping, ſays my author, that it would induce him to return to his country, to his wife and his children. How large ſoever that ſalary might ſeem in the eyes of frugal Swiſs citizens, it is plain it did not weigh with Holbein againſt the opulence of the court of England. He remained here 'till his death, which was occaſioned by the plague in the year 1554, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. Some accounts make him die in the ſpot where is now the paper-office; but that is not likely, as that very place had been king Henry's private ſtudy, and was then appointed for the reception of the letters and papers left by that prince and of other public papers. Vertue thought, if he died in the

precincts of the palace, that it was in ſome ſlight lodgings there, then called the paper-buildings, or in Scotland-yard where the king's artificers lived; but he was rather of opinion that Holbein breathed his laſt in the duke of Norfolk's houſe in the priory of Chriſt-church * near Aldgate, then called Duke's-place, having been removed from Whitehall, to make room for the train of Philip, to whom queen Mary was going to be married. † The ſpot of his interment was as uncertain as that of his death. Thomas earl of Arundel, the celebrated collector in the reign of Charles I. was deſirous of erecting a monument for him, but dropped the deſign from ignorance of the place. Strype in his edition of Stowe's Survey ſays that he was buried in St. Catherine-Cree church, which ſtands in the cimetery of that diſſolved priory, and conſequently cloſe to his patron's houſe.

* There was a priory given at the diſſolution to Sir Thomas Audley, from whoſe family it came by marriage to the duke of Norfolk, but this was not 'till four years after the death of Holbein, conſequently Vertue's conjecture is not well grounded.

† Holbein was not likely to be in favour in that reign, being ſuppoſed a proteſtant.

Wha

Who his wife was, or what family he left we are not told; mention of ſome of his children will be made in the liſt of his works.

Holbein painted in oil, in diſtemper and water-colours. He had never practiſed the laſt 'till he came to England, where he learned it of Lucas Cornelii, and carried it to the higheſt perfection. His miniatures have all the ſtrength of oil-colours joined to the moſt finiſhed delicacy. He generally painted on a green ground; in his ſmall pictures often on a deep blue. There is a tradition that he painted with his left hand, like the Roman knight Turpilius, but this is contradicted by one of his own portraits that was in the Arundelian collection and came to lord Stafford, in which he holds his pencil in the right hand.

It is impoſſible to give a compleat catalogue of his works; they were extremely numerous; and as I have ſaid, that number is increaſed by copies, by doubtfull or by pretended pieces. Many have probably not come to my knowledge; thoſe I ſhall mention were of his hand, as far as I can judge.

From his drawings for the Moriae Encomium there have been prints to many editions, and yet they are by no means the moſt meritorious of his performances.

At Baſil in the town-houſe are eight pieces of the hiſtory of Chriſt's paſſion and crucifixion. Maximilian duke of Bavaria offered a great ſum for them.

Three of the walls in the upper part of the ſame edifice are adorned with hiſtories by him.

In the library of the univerſity there is a dead Chriſt, painted on board in the year 1521. In the ſame place the Lord's ſupper much damaged.

Another there on the ſame ſubject, drawn by Holbein when very young. Chriſt ſcourged; in the ſame place, but not very well painted.

Ibidem, A board painted on both ſides; a ſchool-maſter teaching boys. It is ſuppoſed to have been a ſign to ſome private ſchool, 1516.

Ibidem, A profile of Eraſmus writing his Commentary on Saint Matthew.

Ibidem, The ſame in an oval; ſmaller.

Ibidem, The portrait of Amerbach.

Ibidem,

Ibidem, A woman ſitting with a girl in her arms, and ſtroaking a little boy. Theſe are ſaid to be Holbein's wife and children. This has been engraved by Joſeph Wirtz.

Ibidem, A lady of Alſace, with a boy.

Ibidem, A beautifull woman, inſcribed, Lais Corinthiaca 1526.

Ibidem, Adam and Eve, half figures, 1517.

Ibidem, Two pictures in chiaro ſcuro, of Chriſt crowned with thorns, and the Virgin praying.

Ibidem, One hundred and three ſketches on paper, collected by Amerbach; who has written on them *Hans Holbein genuina.* They are chiefly deſigns for the Life of Chriſt, and ſome for the family of Sir Thomas More. Many of them are thought to have been patterns for glaſs-painters. I have heard that at Baſil there are paintings on glaſs both by Holbein himſelf and his father.

Ibidem, Two death's heads near a grate.

Ibidem, The portrait of John Holbein (I do not know whether father or ſon) in a red hat, and a white habit trimmed with black.

The portrait of James Mejer, Conſul or

Burgo-maſter of Baſil, and his wife, 1516, with the ſketches for both pictures. In the muſeum of Feſchius.

Eraſmus, in the ſame place.

In the ſtreet called Eiſſengaſſen, is a whole houſe painted by him on the outſide, with buildings and hiſtory. For this he received ſixty florins.

The Emperor Charles V. Le Blond a Dutch painter * gave an hundred crowns for this at Lyons in 1633, for the duke of Buckingham.

* So I find him called in the liſt of Holbein's works prefixed to the Engliſh edition of the Moriae Encomium; Sandrart mentions another perſon of almoſt the ſame name, who he ſays was the Swediſh miniſter in Holland, and that he, Sandrart, gave him an original portrait of Holbein. He adds, that Monſ. Le Blon had another picture by Holbein of a learned man and death with an hour-glaſs, and a building behind; and that Le Blon, being earneſtly ſolicited, had ſold to J. Loſſert, a painter, for three hundred florins, a picture of the Virgin and child by the ſame maſter. Le Blon had alſo ſome figures by Holbein, particularly a Venus and Cupid, finely modelled. There is a print of the Swediſh Le Blon, after Vandyck by Theo. Matham, thus inſcribed, Michel Le Blon, Agent de la Reyne et couronne de Suede chez ſa Majeſtie de la Grande Bretagne.

Another

Another portrait of Eraſmus, bought at Baſil by the ſame Le Blond for an hundred ducats. This was engraved in Holland by Viſcher. It is mentioned in the catalogue of the duke's pictures p. 17, N°. 6. To this was joined the portrait of Frobenius. Both pictures are now ‡ at Kenſington; but the architecture in the latter was added afterwards by Stenwyck.

A large picture, containing the portraits of the Conſul Mejer and his ſons on one ſide, and of his wife and daughters on the other, all praying before an altar. This was ſold at Baſil for an hundred pieces of gold; the ſame Le Blond in 1633 gave a thouſand rix-dollars for it, and ſold it for three times that ſum to Mary de' Medici, then in Holland.

Another portrait of Eraſmus; at Vienna.

Another there, ſuppoſed the father of Sir Thomas More. This was reckoned one of his capital works.

‡ But the Eraſmus is thought a copy: the true one King Charles gave to Monſ. de Liencourt. ſee catal. p. 18. The Frobenius was given to the king by the duke of Buckingham juſt before he went to the iſle of Rhee.

Two

Two pieces about five feet high, repreſenting monks digging up the bones of ſome ſaint, and carrying them in proceſſion; at Vienna.

A picture about four feet ſquare, of dancing, hunting, tilting and other ſports; in the public library at Zurich.

The inſide of a church, the virgin, and apoſtles; angels ſinging above; in the collection of Mr. Werdmyller at Zurich.

The portrait of an Engliſh nobleman; in the ſame cabinet.

The portrait of Conrad Pellican, profeſſor of Theology and Hebrew at Zurich; in the houſe of Mr. Martin Werdmyller ſenator of Baſil.

Chriſt in his cradle, the Virgin and Joſeph: Shepherds at a diſtance; in the church of the Auguſtines at Lucern.

The Adoration of the wiſe men. ibidem.

Chriſt taken from the croſs. ibidem.

The Sancta Veronica. ibidem.

Chriſt teaching in the temple. ibidem.

Chriſt on the croſs; the Virgin and St. John; with inſcriptions in Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

All the Prophets in nine pieces, each a yard

yard long; painted in diſtemper. Theſe were carried to Holland by Barthol. Sarbruck a painter, who made copies of them, preſerved in the Feſchian muſeum.

The picture of queen Mary: Dr. Patin had it, and the following;

An old man with a red forked beard, ſuppoſed to be a grand maſter of Rhodes.

The dance of Death in the church-yard of the Predicants of the ſuburbs of St. John at Baſil is always aſcribed to Holbein, and is ſhown to ſtrangers through a grate. And yet, as Vertue obſerved, our painter had undoubtedly no hand in it. Pope Eugenius IV. appointed the council of Baſil in 1431, and it ſat there 15 years, during which time a plague raged that carried off all degrees of people. On the ceſſation of it, the work in queſtion was immediately painted as a memorial of that calamity. Holbein could not be the original painter, for he was not born 'till 1498; nor had any hand in the part that was added in 1529, at which time he had left Baſil. Even if he had been there when it was done (which was about the time of his ſhort return thither) it is not probable that mention

tion of him would have been omitted in the inſcription which the magiſtrates cauſed to be placed under thoſe paintings, eſpecially when the name of one Hugo Klauber, a painter who repaired them in 1569, is carefully recorded. But there is a ſtronger proof of their not being the work of Holbein, and at the ſame time an evidence of his taſte. The paintings at Baſil are a dull ſeries of figures, of a pope, emperor, king, queen, &c. each ſeized by a figure of Death; but in the prints which Hollar has given of Holbein's drawings of Death's Dance, a deſign he borrowed from the work at Baſil, there are groupes of figures, and a richneſs of fancy and invention peculiar to himſelf. Every ſubject is varied, and adorned with buildings and habits of the times, which he had the ſingular art of making pictureſque.

At Amſterdam in the Warmoes-ſtreet was a fine picture of a queen of England in ſilver tiſſue.

Two portraits of himſelf, one, a ſmall round, † was in the cabinet of James Razet;

† Mr. George Auguſtus Selwyn has one that anſwers exactly to this account, and is in perfect preſervation. Mr. Walpole has another, and better preſerved.

the

the other as big as the palm of a hand; in the collection of Barth. Ferrers.

Sandrart had drawings by Holbein of Chriſt's paſſion, in folio; two of them were wanting; in his book he offers 200 florins to whoever will produce and ſell them to him. p. 241.

In the king of France's collection are the following;

1. Archbiſhop Warham. aet. ſuae 70. 1527. There is another of theſe at Lambeth. Archbiſhop Parker entailed this and another of Eraſmus on his ſucceſſors; they were ſtolen in the civil war, but Juxon repurchaſed the former.

2. The portrait of Nicholas Cratzer, Aſtronomer to Henry VIII. This man after long reſidence in England had ſcarce learned to ſpeak the language. The king aſking him how that happened, he replied, "I beſeech your highneſs to pardon me; what can a man learn in only thirty years?" Theſe two laſt pictures * were in the collection

* Warham's came afterwards to Sir Walter Cope, who lived without Temple-bar over againſt the lord treaſurer Saliſbury, and had ſeveral of Holbein, which paſſed

lection of Andrew de Loo, a great virtuoſo, who bought all the works of Holbein he could procure; among others a portrait of Eraſmus, which king Charles afterwards exchanged for a picture of Leonardo da Vinci. A drawing of Cratzer is among the heads by Holbein at Kenſington. Among others in de Loo's collection was the fine Cromwell earl of Eſſex, now at Mr. Southwell's, and engraved among the illuſtrious heads. †

3. Anne of Cleve.
4. Holbein's own portrait.
5. Eraſmus writing; a ſmall picture.

paſſed by marriage to the earl of Holland, and were for ſome time at Holland-houſe. See Oxf. MSS. Yelvert. p. 118. Another of Cratzer remained at Holland-houſe 'till the death of the counteſs of Warwick, wife of M. Addiſon; a fine picture, ſtrongly painted, repreſenting him with ſeveral inſtruments before him, and an inſcription expreſſing that he was a Bavarian, of the age of 41 in 1528. In one of the office-books are entries of payment to him.

April, paid to Nicholas the Aſtronomer — 11*l.*
Anno 23, paid to ditto — — 5—4—0

Cratzer in 1550 erected the dial at Corpus Chriſti coll. Oxford. Brit. Topogr. vol. ii. p. 159.

† De Loo had alſo the family-picture of Sir Thomas More, which was bought by his grandſon Mr. Roper.

6. An

6. An old man, with a gold chain.

7. Sir Thomas More, leſs than life.

8. An old man with beads and a death's head.

In the collection of the duke of Orleans are four heads;

Another Cromwell earl of Eſſex. *

Sir Thomas More.

A lady.

George Gyſein. †

But the greateſt and beſt of his works were done in England, many of which ſtill remain here. Some were loſt or deſtroyed in the civil war; ſome ſold abroad at that time; and ſome, particularly of his miniatures were, I believe, conſumed when Whitehall was burned. There periſhed the large picture of Henry VII. ‡ and of Eli-

* There is a ſmall head of him at Devonſhire-houſe with this date, aet. 15. 1515.

† This is a Dutch name: Peter Gyzen, born about 1636, was a painter, and ſcholar of Velvet Breughel. Deſcamps, vol. iii. p. 41.

‡ The portraits of Henry VII. and Elizabeth muſt have been taken from older originals: Holbein more than once copied the picture of this queen, and of the kings grandame (as ſhe was called) Margaret counteſs of Richmond.

zabeth of York, of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour; it was painted on the wall in the privy chamber. The copy which Remèe * made of it for Charles II. in ſmall, and for which he received 150 *l.* hangs in the king's bedchamber below ſtairs at Kenſington; from that Vertue engraved his print. Holbein's original drawing of the two kings is in the collection of the duke of Devonſhire. It is in black chalk, heightened, and large as life; now at Chatſworth. The architecture of this picture is very rich, and parts of it in a good ſtyle.

In the chapel at Whitehall he painted Joſeph of Arimathea, and in that at St. James's, Lazarus riſing from the dead—both now deſtroyed. †

That he often drew the king is indubitable; ſeveral pictures extant of Henry are aſcribed to him—I would not warrant many of them.—There is one at Trinity college Cambridge, ‡ another at Lord Tor-

* Remèe was a ſcholar of Vandyke and died in 1678. aged 68.

† See Peacham on limning.

‡ It has *HE Feet* upon it; and was probably a copy by Lucas de Heere, of whom hereafter.

rington's

rington's at Whitehall, both whole lengths, and another in the gallery of royal portraits, at Kenſington, which whoever painted it, is execrable; one at Petworth, and another in the gallery at Windſor. But there is one head of that king at Kenſington, not only genuine, but perhaps the moſt perfect of his works. It hangs by the chimney in the ſecond room, leading to the great drawing-room; and would alone account for the judgment of Depiles, who in his ſcale of picturesque merit, allows 16 degrees for colouring to Holbein, when he had allotted but 12 to Raphael. I conclude that it was in the ſame light that Frederic Zucchero conſidered our artiſt, when he told Goltzius that in ſome reſpects he preferred him to Raphael. Both Zucchero and Depiles underſtood the ſcience too well to make any compariſon except in that one particular of colouring, between the greateſt genius, in his way, that has appeared, and a man who excelled but in one, and that an inferior branch of his art. The texture of a roſe is more delicate than that of an oak; I do not ſay that it grows ſo lofty or caſts ſo extenſive a ſhade.

Oppoſite to this picture hangs another, but much inferior, called in the catalogue lord Arundel, or Howard;* the latter name is a confuſion, occaſioned by the title of Arundel paſſing into the family of Howard. The portrait in queſtion, I ſuppoſe, is of H. Fitzalan earl of Arundel, and probably the very perſon who firſt perſuaded Holbein to come into England.

In the ſtate bed-chamber is a portrait of Edward VI. It was originally a half length; but has been very badly converted into a whole figure ſince the time of Holbein.

Conſidering how long he lived in the ſervice of the crown, it is ſuprizing that ſo few of his works ſhould have remained in the royal collection; Charles I. appears by his catalogue to have poſſeſſed but about a dozen. All the reſt were diſperſed but thoſe I have mentioned (unleſs the whole length of the unfortunate earl of Surrey, in a red habit, in the lower apartment at Windſor is ſo, as I believe it is) and a fine little picture of a man and woman, ſaid to

* The fine original of Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk with the ſtaff of earl-marſhal and lord treaſurer, from whence the print is taken, is at Leiceſter-houſe.

be

be his own and wife's portraits which hangs *in an obſcure cloſet in the gallery at Wind*ſor; and the portrait of a man opening a letter with a knife, in the ſtandard-cloſet in the ſame palace. But at preſent an invaluable treaſure of the works of this maſter is preſerved in one of our palaces. Soon after the acceſſion of the late king, queen Caroline found in a bureau at Kenſington a noble collection of Holbein's original drawings for the portraits of ſome of the chief perſonages of the court of Henry VIII. How they came there is quite unknown. They did belong to * Charles I. who changed them with William earl of Pembroke for a St. George by Raphael, now at Paris. Lord Pembroke gave them to the earl of Arundel, and at the diſperſion of that collection, they might be bought by or for the king. There are eighty-nine † of them, a few of

 which

* After Holbein's death they had been ſold into France, from whence they were brought and preſented to king Charles by Monſ. de Liencourt. Vanderdort, who did nothing but blunder, imagined they were portraits of the French court. Saunderſon in his Graphice p. 79, commends this book highly, but ſays ſome of the drawings were ſpoiled.

† See the liſt of them, ſubjoined to the catalogue of the

which are duplicates: a great part are exceedingly fine, * and in one reſpect preferable to his finiſhed pictures, as they are drawn in a bold and free manner: and though they have little more than the outline, being drawn with chalk upon paper ſtained of a fleſh colour, and ſcarce ſhaded at all, there is a ſtrength and vivacity in them equal to the moſt perfect portraits. The heads of Sir Thomas More, † biſhop Fiſher, Sir Thomas Wyat, and Broke lord

the collection of king James II. publiſhed by Bathoe in quarto, 1758. In king Charles's catalogue they are ſaid to be but fifty-four, and that they were bought of, not given by, Monſ. de Liencourt.

* Some have been rubbed, and others traced over with a pen on the outlines by ſome unſkillfull hand. In an old inventory belonging to the family of Lumley mention was made of ſuch a book in that family, with a remarkable note, that it had belonged to Edward VI. and that the names of the perſons were written on them by Sir John Cheke. Moſt of the drawings at Kenſington have names in an old hand; and the probability of their being written by a miniſter of the court who ſo well knew the perſons repreſented, is an addition to their value.

† Richardſon the painter had another of theſe, which was ſold at his auction, and from whence Houbraken's print among the illuſtrious heads was taken.

Cobham

Cobham are maſter-pieces. * It is great pity that they have not been engraved, not only that ſuch frail performances of ſo great a genius might be preſerved, but that the reſemblances of ſo many illuſtrious perſons, no where elſe exiſting, might be ſaved from deſtruction. Vertue had undertaken this noble work, and after ſpending part of three years on it, broke off, I do not know why, after having traced off on oil-paper but about five and thirty. Theſe I bought at his ſale; and they are ſo exactly taken as to be little inferior to the originals.

In the ſame cloſet are two fine finiſhed portraits by Holbein, ſaid to be his own and his wife's; they were preſented to queen Caroline by Sir Robert Walpole, my father. † And a circular drawing; the ſtory of Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

* They were firſt placed by the queen at Richmond, but afterwards removed to Kenſington where they ſtill remain; but it is a very improper place for them, many hanging againſt the light or with ſcarce any, and ſome ſo high as not to be diſcernible, eſpecially a moſt gracefull head of the duchéſs of Suffolk.

† The father of lord treaſurer Oxford paſſing over London bridge, was caught in a ſhower, and ſtepping into

In one of the king's cabinets is a miniature of two children of Charles Brandon.

Over one of the doors is a picture aſcribed to Holbein, and ſuppoſed to be queen Elizabeth, when princeſs, with a book in her hand, but I queſtion both the painter and the perſon repreſented.

He drew Will. Somers, † king Henry's jeſter, from which there is a print. It is perhaps a little draw-back on the fame of heroes and ſtateſmen, that ſuch perſons, who ſhared at leaſt an equal portion of royal favour formerly, continue to occupy a place even in the records of time—at leaſt, we antiquaries, who hold every thing worth preſerving, merely becauſe it has been preſerved, have with the names of Henry, Charles, Elizabeth, Francis I. Wol-

into a goldſmith's ſhop for ſhelter, he found there a picture of Holbein (who had lived in that houſe) and his family. He offered the goldſmith 100 *l.* for it, who conſented to let him have it, but deſired firſt to ſhow it to ſome perſons. Immediately after happened the fire of London and the picture was deſtroyed.

† There is a burleſque figure of him in the armory at the Tower.

ſey, Sir Thomas More, &c. treaſured up thoſe of Will. Somers, Saxton, Tom. Derry, (queen Anne's jeſter) Tarlton, (queen Elizabeth's) Pace, another fool in that reign, Archee, the diſturber of Laud's greatneſs; Muckle John, who ſucceeded; Patch, Wolſey's fool; Harry Patenſon, Sir Thomas More's; and of Biſquet and Amaril, the jeſters of Francis I. not to mention Hitard, * king Edmund's buffoon; Stone, † and Jeffery Hudſon, the dwarf of Henrietta Maria. Of ſome of theſe perſonages I have found the following anecdotes: Saxton is the firſt perſon recorded to have worn a wig: In an account of the treaſurer of the chambers in the reign of Henry VIII. there is entered, "Paid for Saxton, the king's fool, for a wig, 20 *s.*" in the accounts of the lord Harrington who was in the ſame office under James I. there is, "Paid to T. Mawe for the diet and lodging of Tom Derry, her majeſty's jeſter, 13 weeks, 10*l.*—18 *s.*—6*d.*" Patch and Archee were political characters: The former, who had been Wolſey's fool,

* See Dart's antiq. of Canterbury, p. 6.

† A fool mentioned in Selden's table-talk.

and who like wiſer men, had lived in favour through all the changes of religion and folly with which four ſucceſſive courts had amuſed themſelves or tormented every body elſe, was employed by Sir Francis Knollys to break down the crucifix, which queen Elizabeth ſtill retained in her chapel; and the latter, I ſuppoſe on ſome ſuch inſtigation, demoliſhed that which Laud erected at St. James's, and which was probably the true cauſe of that prelate engaging the king and council in his quarrel, though abuſive words were the pretence. Of little Jeffery I ſhall ſay more in another place.

King James II. as appears by the catalogue of his pictures publiſhed by Bathoe, had ſeveral of Holbein; though all in that liſt were not painted by him.

Of Holbein's public works in England I find an account of only four. The firſt is that capital picture in ſurgeon's hall, of Henry VIII. giving the charter to the company of ſurgeons. The character of his majeſty's bluff haughtineſs is well repreſented, and all the heads are finely executed. The picture itſelf has been retouched,

touched, but is well known by Baron's print. The phyſician in the middle on the king's left hand is Dr. Butts, immortalized by Shakeſpear. *

The ſecond is the large piece in the hall of Bridewell, repreſenting Edward VI. delivering to the lord mayor of London the royal charter, by which he gave up and erected his palace of Bridewell into an hoſpital and workhouſe. Holbein has placed his own head in one corner of the picture. Vertue has engraved it. This picture, it is believed, was not compleated by Holbein, both he and the king dying immediately after the donation.

The third and fourth were two large pictures, painted in diſtemper, in the hall of the Eaſterling merchants in the Steelyard. Where Deſcamps found, I do not know, that they were deſigned for ceilings. It is probably a miſtake. Theſe pictures exhibited the triumphs of riches and poverty. The former was repreſented by Plutus rid-

* The ring which Henry ſent by Dr. Butts to Cardinal Wolſey, was a cameo on a ruby of the king himſelf, formerly given to him by the Cardinal.

ing

ing in a golden carr; before him ſat Fortune ſcattering money, the chariot being loaded with coin, and drawn by four white horſes, but blind, and led by women, whoſe names were written beneath. Round the carr were crowds with extended hands catching at the favours of the god. Fame and Fortune attended him, and the proceſſion was cloſed by Croeſus, and Midas, and other avaritious perſons of note.

Poverty was an old woman, ſitting in a vehicle as ſhattered as the other was ſuperb; her garments ſqualid, and every emblem of wretchedneſs around her. She was drawn by aſſes and oxen, which were guided by Hope, and Diligence, and other emblematic figures, and attended by mechanics and labourers. The richneſs of the colouring, the plumpneſs of the fleſh, the gaudy ornaments in the former; and the ſtrong touches and expreſſion in the latter were univerſally admired. It was on the ſight of theſe pictures that Zucchero expreſſed ſuch eſteem of this maſter: he copied them in Indian ink, and thoſe drawings came afterwards into the poſſeſſion of Monſ. Crozat.

Voſterman

Voſterman jun. engraved prints from them, at leaſt of the triumph of Poverty, but Vertue could never meet with that of Riches: however in Buckingham-houſe in St. James's park, he found two ſuch drawings, on one of which was an inſcription attributing them to Holbein, and adding, that they were the gift of Sir Thomas More, who wrote verſes under them. Vertue thought that theſe drawings were neither of Holbein nor Zucchero, but the copies which Voſterman had made, in order to engrave. Theſe drawings I ſuppoſe were ſold in the ducheſs's auction. * For the large pictures themſelves

Felibien

* So I concluded, but have ſince been ſo lucky to find that they were preſerved at Buckingham houſe, till it was purchaſed by his majeſty, when the pictures being expoſed to auction, theſe very drawings were exhibited there, as allegoric pieces by Vandyck. They more than come up to any advantageous idea I had formed of Holbein. The compoſition of each is noble, free, and maſterly. The expreſſions admirable, the attitudes graceſull, and ſeveral of them bearing great reſemblance to the ſtyle of Raphael. The Triumph of Riches is much wider than the other. The figures in black and white chalk, the ſkies coloured. On each are Latin verſes, but no mention of Holbein, as Vertue relates. The figure of Croeſus has great reſemblance to the

Felibien and Depiles ſay that they were carried into France from Flanders, whither they were tranſported I ſuppoſe after the deſtruction of the company, of which Stowe † gives the following account. The Steel-yard was a place for merchants of Almaine who uſed to bring hither wheat, rye, and other grain; cables, ropes, maſts, ſteel and other profitable merchandize. Henry III. at the requeſt of his brother Richard earl of Cornwall and king of Almaine gave them great privileges, they then having a houſe called, Guilda Aula Teutonicorum. Edward I. confirmed their charter; and in the ſame reign there was a great quarrel between the mayor of London and thoſe merchants of the Haunce, about the reparation of Biſhop-gate, which was impoſed on them in conſideration of their privileges, and

the younger portraits of Henry VIII. By the maſterly execution of theſe drawings, I ſhould conclude them Zucchero's copies; but the horſes, which are remarkably fine and ſpirited, and other touches, are ſo like the manner of Vandyck, that one is apt to attribute them to Voſterman who lived in his time. Probably the Triumph of Riches is Voſterman's copy, and that of Poverty, Zucchero's. They are now at Strawberry-hill.

† Survey of London p. 249.

which

which they ſuffered to run to ruin. Being condemned to the repairs, they were in recompence indulged with granaries, and an alderman of their own; but in time were complained of, for importing too great quantities of foreign grain. They were reſtricted, yet ſtill increaſed in wealth, and had a noble hall in Thames-ſtreet with three arched gates, and in the reign of Edward III. they hired another houſe of Richard Lions, a famous lapidary, one of the ſheriffs, who was beheaded by the Kentiſh rebels in the reign of Richard II, and another for which they paid 70 *l.* per ann. But ſtill continuing to engroſs the trade, they were ſuppreſſed in the reign of Edward VI. who ſeized the liberties of the Steelyard into his own hands.

But for nothing has Holbein's name been oftener mentioned than for the picture of Sir Thomas More's family. Yet of ſix pieces extant on this ſubject, the two ſmaller are certainly copies, the three larger probably not painted by Holbein, and the ſixth, tho' an original picture, moſt likely not of Sir Thomas and his family. That Holbein was to draw ſuch a piece is indubitable;

dubitable; a letter of Eraſmus is extant, thanking Sir Thomas for ſending him the ſketch of it; but there is great preſumption, that though Holbein made the deſign, it was not he who executed the picture in large, as will appear by the following accounts of the ſeveral pieces. The moſt known is that at Burford, the ſeat of the famous Speaker Lenthall. To ſay that a performance is not equal to the reputation of it's ſuppoſed author, is not always an argument ſufficient to deſtroy it's authenticity. It is a well-known ſaying of Sir Godfrey Kneller, when he was reproached with any of his haſty ſlovenly daubings, "Pho, it will not be thought mine; nobody will believe that the ſame man painted this and the Chineſe at Windſor."

But there is a ſpeaking evidence on the picture itſelf againſt it's own pretenſions. Holbein died in 1554. The picture at Burford is dated 1593. It is larger and there are more figures than in it's rival, the piece in Yorkſhire, and ſome of theſe Vertue thought were painted from the life. This was kept at Gubbins in Hertfordſhire, the ſeat of the Mores; but by what means the

the piece paſſed into the hands of Lenthall, is uncertain; the remains of the family of More are ſeated at Barnborough in Yorkſhire, where they have a ſmall picture of their anceſtor and his relations like that at Burford, but undoubtedly not an original. There too they preſerve ſome relicks which belonged to that great man; as a George enamelled, and within it a miniature of Sir Thomas; a gold croſs with pearl drops, and the cap he wore at his execution.

The ſecond picture is at Heron in Eſſex, the ſeat of Sir John Tyrrel, but having been repainted, it is impoſſible to judge of it's antiquity. The diſpute of originality has lain only between the piece at Burford, and the next.

The third large picture, and which Vertue thought the very one painted for Sir Thomas himſelf, is twelve feet wide, and is the actual piece which was in Deloo's collection, after whoſe death it was bought by Mr. Roper, Sir Thomas's grandſon. As Deloo was a collector of Holbein's works, and his cotemporary, it ſounds extraordinary, that a picture, which he thought genuine,

genuine, ſhould be doubted now; and yet Vertue gives ſuch ſtrong reaſons, ſupported by ſo plauſible an hypotheſis, to account for it's not being Holbein's, that I think them worth laying before the reader. He ſays the picture is but indifferent; on this I lay no more ſtreſs than I do in the caſe of that at Burford, but his obſervation that the lights and ſhades in different parts of the picture come from oppoſite ſides, is unanſwerable, and demonſtrate it no genuine picture of Holbein, unleſs that maſter had been a moſt ignorant dauber, as he might ſometimes be a careleſs painter. This abſurdity Vertue accounts for, by ſuppoſing, that Holbein quitted the chancellor's ſervice for the king's, before he had drawn out the great picture, which however Sir Thomas always underſtood was to be executed; that Holbein's buſineſs increaſing upon him, ſome other painter was employed to begin the picture, and to which Holbein was to give the laſt touches; in ſhort that inimitable perfection of fleſh which characteriſes his works. And this is the more probable as Vertue obſerves that the faces and hands are left flat and unfiniſhed, but the ornaments, jewels,

jewels, &c. are extremely laboured. As the portraits of the family, in ſeparate pieces, were already drawn by Holbein, the injudicious journeyman ſtuck them in as he found them, and never varied the lights, which were diſpoſed, as it was indifferent in ſingle heads, ſome from the right, ſome from the left, but which make a ridiculous contradiction when tranſported into one piece. This picture, purchaſed as I have ſaid by Mr. Roper, the ſon of that amiable Margaret, whoſe behaviour when Sir Thomas returned to the tower was a ſubject not for Holbein, but for Pouſſin or Shakeſpear! This picture remained 'till of late years at Wellhall in Eltham, Kent, the manſion of the Ropers. That houſe being pulled down, it hung for ſome time in the king's houſe at Greenwich, ſoon after which, by the death of the laſt Roper, whoſe ſole daughter married Mr. Henſhaw, and left three daughters, the family-picture then valued at 300*l.* came between them, and Sir Rowland Wynne, who married one of them, bought the ſhares of the other two, and carried the picture into Yorkſhire where it now remains.

The other ſmall one is in the collection of

colonel Sothby in Bloomſbury-ſquare. It is painted in the neateſt manner in miniature. On the right hand are inſerted the portraits of Mr. More and his wife, Sir Thomas's grandſon, for whom it was drawn, and their two ſons, with their garden at Chelſea behind, and a view of London. The painter of this exquiſite little piece is unknown, but probably was Peter Oliver.

The fifth was in the palace of the Delfino family at Venice, where it was long on ſale, the price firſt ſet 1500*l.* When I ſaw it there in 1741, they had ſunk it to 400*l.* ſoon after which the preſent king of Poland bought it.

It was evidently deſigned for a ſmall altar-piece to a chapel; in the middle on a throne ſits the Virgin and child; on one ſide kneels an elderly gentleman with two ſons, one of them a naked infant; oppoſite kneeling are his wife and daughters. The old man is not only unlike all repreſentations of Sir Thomas More, but it is certain that he never had but one ſon *—For the colouring it

* There is recorded a bon-mot of Sir Thomas on the birth of his ſon: He had three daughters: His wife was impatient

it is beautifull beyond deſcription, and the carnations have that enamelled bloom ſo peculiar to Holbein, who touched his works 'till not a touch remained diſcernible! A drawing of this picture by Biſchop was brought over in 1723, from whence Vertue doubted both of the ſubject and the painter; but he never ſaw the original! By the deſcription of the family-picture of the conſul Mejer, mentioned above, I have no doubt but this is the very picture — Mejer and More are names not ſo unlike, but that in proceſs of time they may have been confounded, and that of More retained, as much better known.

In private houſes in England are or were the following works of Holbein, beſides what may not have come to Vertue's or my knowledge.

In the Arundelian collection, ſays Richard Symonds, * was a head of Holbein in oil by himſelf, moſt ſweet, dated 1543.

impatient for a ſon; at laſt they had one, but not much above an idiot — "You have prayed ſo long for a boy, ſaid the chancellor, that now we have got one who, I believe, will be a boy as long as he lives."

* In one of his pocket-books which will be mentioned more particularly in the ſecond volume.

At Northumberland-houſe an Engliſh knight ſitting in a chair and a table by him.

Lord Denny, comptroller, and his lady, 1527.

Sir Henry Guldeford and his lady. They were engraved by Hollar. † As alſo Monſ. Moret, jeweller to Henry VIII.

In the earl of Pembroke's collection was a lady in black ſatin, which Zucchero admired exceedingly. ‡

The duke of Buckingham had eight of his hand, in particular the ſtory of Jupiter and Io. See his catal. p. 16.

At the earl of Uxbridge's at Drayton, his anceſtor lord Paget.

At the earl of Guilford's at Wroxton, Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity-college, Oxford.

At Blenheim, a very lively head of a young man.

At Buckingham houſe was the portrait of Edmund lord Sheffield §.

Henry

† They were at Tart-hall.

‡ There is a view of the Siege of Pavia at Wilton, ſaid to be by Holbein, but it is by Albert Durer. I even queſtion whether the profile of Edward VI. there be an original.

§ This is a miſtake. It was painted by Antonio More,

Henry VIII. and Francis I. exchanged two pictures; the king of France gave to Henry the Virgin and child by Leonardo da Vinci; the Engliſh preſent was painted by Holbein, but the ſubject is not mentioned. The former came into the poſſeſſion of Catherine Patin.

In the late duke of Somerſet's poſſeſſion was a head of his anceſtor the protector, engraved among the illuſtrious heads.

Vertue mentions having ſeen a fine miniature of Henry VIII. and his three children, but does not ſay where. It had a glaſs over it, and a frame curiouſly carved.

At lord Orford's at Houghton is a ſmall whole length of Edward VI. on board, which was ſold into Portugal from the collection of Charles I. and Eraſmus, ſmaller than life.

I have

Catherine of Arragon, a miniature, exquiſitely finiſhed; a round on a blue ground. It was given to the duke of Monmouth by Charles II. I bought it at the ſale of the lady Iſabella Scott, daughter of the ducheſs of Monmouth.

More, and is now at Strawberry-hill, and is the portrait of John lord Sheffield.

A head of the ſame queen on board in oil; hard, and in her latter age. It is engraved among the illuſtrious heads.

Cath. Howard, a miniature, damaged. It was Richardſon's who bought it out of the Arundelian collection. It is engraved among the illuſtrious heads; and by Hollar, who called it, Mary queen of France, wife of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

Edmund Montacute, a judge. D°. flat.

Philip, the Fair, ſon of the emperor Maximilian, and father of Charles V. when a boy. It is finely coloured; and is engraved in Mountfaucon's antiquities of France. This muſt have been copied from ſome other picture.

A drawing of a man in a blue gown, cap, and buſkins. It ſeems to be a maſquerade dreſs.

Another drawing, the head of a man, with a hat and picked beard.

A deſign in water colours, which he afterwards executed on a houſe at Baſil.

A large deſign for a chimney-piece.

A deſign for a clock, in great taſte. It was drawn for Sir Anthony Denny and intended for a new-year's gift to Henry VIII. from the collection of Monſ. Mariette at Paris.

A head

A head of Melancthon, in oil on board, a ſmall round, very fine.

Several drawings by Holbein, and ſome miniatures are preſerved in various collections.

There is a very curious picture in the collection of col. Sothby, ſaid to be begun in France by Janet, and which Vertue thinks might be retouched by Holbein, as it was probably painted for his patron the duke of Norfolk, from whom it deſcended immediately to the earl of Arundel, out of whoſe collection the father of the preſent poſſeſſor purchaſed it. It repreſents three royal pair dancing in a meadow, with a magnificent building at a diſtance; they are Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; and his ſiſters Margaret queen of Scots and Mary queen of France with their ſecond huſbands, Archibald Douglas and Charles Brandon. * The circumſtances of three

* This was Vertue's opinion. The account in the family calls the man in the middle the duke of Norfolk, and him on the right hand the duke of Suffolk. If the tradition that this picture repreſents only Engliſh perſonages were not ſo well grounded, I ſhould take it

for

matches ſo unequal aſſembled together, induced Vertue, with much probability to conclude that it was a tacit ſatire, and painted for the duke of Norfolk, who, however related to Anne Boleyn, was certainly not partial to her, as protectreſs of the reformed. If this conjecture could be verified, it would lead one to farther reflections. The jealouſy which Henry towards the end of his reign conceived againſt the Howards, and his ſacrificing the galant earl of Surrey for quartering the arms of England, as he undoubtedly had a right to quarter them, have always appeared acts of moſt tyrannic ſuſpicion. He ſo little vouchſafed to ſatisfy the public on the grounds of his proceedings, that it is poſſible he might ſometimes act on better foundation than any body

for a French compoſition. The perſon in the middle is a black ſwarthy man with a ſharp beard, like Francis I. and reſembling neither of the dukes of Norfolk or Suffolk, the former of whom is never drawn with a beard, the latter always with a ſhort ſquare one: add to this, that the figure called Henry VIII. and which certainly has much of his countenance, is in an obſcure corner of the picture, and exhibits little more than the face,

knew,

knew. If he really diſcovered any ambitious views in the houſe of Norfolk, this picture would ſeem a confirmation of them. To expoſe the blemiſhes in the blood of the three only branches of the royal family, might be a leading ſtep towards aſſerting their own claim—at leaſt their own line would not appear leſs noble, than the deſcendents of Boleyn, Brandon and Douglas.

Holbein's talents were not confined to his pictures; he was an architect, he modelled, carved, was excellent in deſigning ornaments, and gave draughts of prints for ſeveral books, ſome of which it is ſuppoſed he cut himſelf. Sir Hans Sloane had a book of jewels deſigned by him, now in the Britiſh muſeum. He invented patterns * for goldſmith's work, for enamellers and chaſers of plate, arts much countenanced by Henry VIII. Inigo Jones ſhowed Sandrart another book of Holbein's

* The noble ſeal appendent to the ſurrender of Cardinal Wolſey's college at Oxford, has all the appearance of being deſigned by Holbein. The deed is preſerved in the augmentation-office, and the ſeal has been engraved among the plates publiſhed by the ſociety of Antiquaries.

deſigns

deſigns for weapons, hilts, ornaments, ſcabbards, ſheaths, ſword-belts, buttons and hooks, girdles, hatbands and claſps for *ſhoes, knives, forks, ſaltſellers* and vaſes, all for the king. Hollar engraved ſeveral of them. The ducheſs of Portland ‡ and lady Elizabeth Germayn ‡ have each a dagger ſet with jewels, which belonged to that prince and were probably imagined by Holbein. The latter lady has a fine little figure of Henry cut in ſtone, whole length; Holbein cut his own head in wood, and I have another by his hand of the king, in which about his neck inſtead of a George he wears a watch. Two other figures carved in ſtone were in the muſeum of Tradeſcant at Lambeth.

His cuts to the bible were engraved and printed at Leyden by Johannes Frellonius, in 1547, under this title, Icones Hiſtoria-

‡ The dagger, in her grace's collection, is ſet with jacynths, and coſt lord Oxford 45*l.* at Tart-hall, when the remains of the Arundelian collection were ſold there in 1720. The dagger that was Lady E. Germayn's is ſet with an hundred rubies, and a few diamonds, and is now at Strawberry-hill, with other curioſities bought out of that collection, particularly the figure of Henry VIII. in ſtone, mentioned in the text.

rum veteris Teſtamenti. The titles to every print are in Latin, and beneath is an explanation in four French verſes. Prefixed is a copy of Latin verſes, in honour of Holbein, by Nicholas Borbonius, a celebrated French poet of that time, and of whom there is a profile among the drawings at Kenſington. *

Lord Arundel ſhowed Sandrart a little book of twenty-two deſigns of the Paſſion of Chriſt, very ſmall; in which, ſays the ſame author, Chriſt was every where repreſented in the habit of a black monk—but that was a miſtake, for Hollar engraved them, and there is only Chriſt perſecuted by monks. Sandrart adds that it is incredible what a quantity of drawings of this maſter lord Arundel had collected, and ſurprizing, the fruitfullneſs of Holbein's invention, his quickneſs of execution and induſtry in performing ſo much.

To the Catechiſmus or Inſtruction of Chriſtian Religion, by Thomas Cranmer,

* In St. John's college Camb. is Henry the 8th's bible printed on vellum, with Holbein's cuts finely illuminated, and the figures of Henry, Cromwell and others.

printed

printed by Walter Lynn 1538, quarto, the title is a wooden cut repreſenting Edward VI. ſitting on his throne giving the bible to the Archbiſhop and Nobles kneeling: This and ſeveral head-pieces in the ſame book were deſigned by Holbein, and probably ſome of them cut by him; one has his name.

On the death of Sir Thomas Wyat the poet in 1541, a little book of verſes, entituled Naenia, was publiſhed by his great admirer Leland. Prefixed was a wooden cut of Sir Thomas from a picture of Holbein, with theſe lines;

Holbenus nitidâ pingendi maximus arte
Effigiem expreſſit graphicè; ſed nullus Apelles
Exprimet ingenium felix animumque Viati.

Of his architecture nothing now remains ſtanding but the beautifull porch at the earl of Pembroke's at Wilton. From that and his drawings it is evident that he had great natural taſte. One cannot but lament that a noble monument of his genius has lately been demoliſhed, the gateway at Whitehall, ſuppoſed to have been erected for the entry of Charles V. but that was a miſtake; the

emperor

emperor was here in 1521; Holbein did not arrive at ſooneſt 'till five years after. Peacham mentions a deſign that he ſaw for a chimney-piece * for Henry's new palace at Bridewell. There undoubtedly, at Whitehall, and at Nonſuch were many of his productions.

It may be wondered that I have ſaid nothing of a work much renowned and aſcribed to this maſter; I mean the chamber at the lord Montacute's at Coudray; but it is moſt certainly not executed by him. Though the hiſtories repreſented there, the habits and cuſtoms of the times, make that room a ſingular curioſity, they are it's only merit. There is nothing good either in the deſigns, diſpoſition or colouring.

There are three other hiſtoric pieces in the ſame houſe, of much more merit, aſcribed likewiſe to Holbein, and undoubtedly of his time. The firſt repreſents Francis I. on his throne, with his courtiers, and the duke of Suffo (ſo it is written) and the earl of Southampton ſtanding before him on an embaſſy. This is by much the worſt of the three, and has been repainted. The

* I have a large drawing by him for a magnificent chimney-piece, I do not know if the ſame.

next

next is ſmaller, and exhibits two knights running a tilt on the foreground; one wears the crown of France, another a coronet, like that of an Engliſh prince, compoſed of croſſes and fleurs de lys, and not cloſed at top. An elderly man with a broad face, and an elderly lady in profile, with ſeveral other figures, boldly painted, but not highly finiſhed, are ſitting to ſee the tilt. On the back ground is the French king's tent, and ſeveral figures dancing, rejoycing, and preparing entertainments. A perſon ſeems leading a queen to the tent. Under this is written, "The meeting of the kings between Guines and Arden in the Vale of Gold." This is an upright piece. The third is the largeſt, broad like the firſt. Francis on his throne at a diſtance with guards &c. on each ſide in a line. Before him ſit on ſtools with their backs towards you four perſons in black, and one like a clergyman ſtanding in the middle and haranguing the king. On each ſide ſit noblemen, well drawn, coloured and neatly finiſhed. On this piece is written, "The great ambaſſade ſent to the French king, of the earl of Worceſter, lord chamberlain, the biſhop of Ely, the lord St. John, the lord

Vaux

Vaux and others." Theſe pictures I ſhould not think of Holbein; the figures are more free than his, leſs finiſhed, and the colouring fainter: and none of the Engliſh ſeem portraits. The ſpelling too of *Suffo*, is French. Probably theſe pieces were done by Janet, who was an able maſter, was cotemporary with Holbein, and whoſe works are often confounded with our painter's. *

Holbein's fame was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, † even in his life, that the Italian maſters vouchſafed to borrow from him. In particular Michael Angelo Caravaggio was much indebted to him in two different pictures. Rubens was ſo great an admirer of his works that he adviſed young Sandrart to ſtudy his Dance of Death, from which Rubens himſelf had made drawings.

This account of a man, dear to connoiſſeurs for the ſingular perfection of his colouring, become dear to antiquaries by the

* In the great drawing-room at Coudray is a chimney-piece painted with groteſque ornaments in the good taſte of Holbein, and probably all he executed at that curious old ſeat, the tradition in the family being, that he ſtaid there but a month.

† Sandrart.

diſtance

diſtance of time in which he lived, by the preſent ſcarcity of his works, and by his connections with More and Eraſmus, I muſt cloſe with all I can diſcover more relating to him; that he formed but one ſcholar, Chriſtopher Amberger of Auſburg; and that in a roll ‡ of new-year's gifts in the 30th year of the reign of Henry VIII. ſigned by the king's own hand, in which are regiſtered preſents to the prince, to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, to the lady Margaret Douglas, to the nobility, biſhops, ladies and gentry, moſt of the gifts being of plate, mention is made of a preſent to Hans Holbein of a gilt creuſe and cover, weighing ten ounces two penny weights, made by (Lucas) Cornelii.

D°. to Lucas (Penne) a gilt creuſe and cover, ſame weight.

On the other ſide of the roll preſents to the king;

Holbein gave a picture of the prince's grace.

Lucas a ſcreen to ſet before the fire.

‡ It was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Holmes keeper of the records in the tower, and was exhibited to the Antiquarian ſociety in 1736.

Richard Atſyll a broach of gold with an antique head. *

In the library of the Royal ſociety is a book of the chamberlain's office, containing payments made by Sir Bryan Tuke treaſurer of the king's chamber beginning in Feb. 1538, in the 29th of Henry VIII. There appear the following accounts.

Payd to Hans Holbein, paynter, a quarter due at Lady-day laſt 8 *l.*— 10*s.*— 0 *d.*

Again at Midſummer quarter.

Item, for Hans Holbein, paynter, for one half year's annuitie advanced to him before hand, the ſame year to be accounted from our Lady-day laſt paſt, the ſum of 30 *l.*

December 30, An. 30. Item, payd to Hans Holbein, one of the king's paynters, by the kyng's commandment certify'd by my lord privy ſeal's letter, x *l.* for his coſt and charge at this time, ſent about certeyn his grace's affairs in the parts of High Burgundy, † by way of his grace's reward.

September An. 31. Item, payd by the king's highneſs commandment, certifyed by

* He was an engraver of ſtones. See the end of this chapter.

† It was to draw the picture of the Ducheſs of Milan, mentioned above.

the lord privy ſeal's letters, to Hans Holbein paynter, in the advancement of his whole year's wages before hand, after the rate of xxx *l.* * by the year, which year's advancement is to be accounted from this preſent, which ſhall end ultimo Septembris next enſuing.

The advancement of his ſalary is a proof that Holbein was both favoured and poor. As he was certainly very laborious, it is probable that the luxury of Britain did not teach him more oeconomy than he had practiſed in his own country.

Henry, beſides theſe painters had ſeveral artiſts of note in his ſervice. The ſuperb tomb of his father, ſays Stowe, † was not finiſhed 'till the eleventh year of this king, 1519. It was made, adds the ſame author, by one Peter, a painter of Florence, for which he received a thouſand pounds, for the whole ſtuff and workmanſhip. This Peter, Vertue diſcovered to be, Pietro Torreggiano, a valuable ſculptor. That he was here in the preceding year appears by a book of acts, orders, decrees and records of the Court of Requeſts printed in 1592

* Sandrart by miſtake ſays only 200 florins.

† Page 799.

in

in quarto, where it is ſaid, p. 60, that in a cauſe between two Florentine merchants, Peter de Bardi and Bernard Cavalcanti, heard before the council at Greenwich, maſter Peter Toriſano, a Florentine ſculptor, was one of the witneſſes. Vaſari ſays, that Torreggiano having made ſeveral figures in marble and ſmall braſs, which were in the town-hall at Florence, and drawn many things with ſpirit and a good manner, in competition with Michael Angelo (and conſequently could be no deſpicable performer) was carried into England by ſome merchants, and entertained in the king's ſervice, for whom he executed variety of works in marble, braſs, and wood, in concurrence with other maſters of this country, over all whom he was allowed the ſuperiority.—He received, adds Vaſari, ſuch noble rewards, that if he had not been a proud, inconſiderate, ungovernable man, he might have lived in great felicity and made a good end; but the contrary happened, for leaving England and ſettling in Spain, after ſeveral performances there, he was accuſed of being a heretic, *

* In a paſſion he had broken an image of the Virgin, that he had juſt carved.

was thrown into the inquiſition, tried and condemned—the execution indeed was reſpited, but he became melancholy mad and ſtarved himſelf to death at Seville in 1522 in the fiftieth year of his age.

Torreggiano, it ſeems, with Henry's turbulence of temper, had adopted his religion, and yet, as he quitted England, one ſhould ſuppoſe had not ſuppleneſs enough to pleaſe the monarch, even after that complaiſance. In the life of Benvenuto Cellini is farther evidence of Torreggiano's being employed here, and of his diſputes with Michael Angelo.

When Cellini was about ſeventeen he ſays there arrived at Florence a ſculptor called Pietro Torreggiani, who came from England where he had reſided many years; this artiſt much frequenting Cellini's maſter, told the former, that having a great work of bronze to execute for the king of England, he was come to engage as many youths as he could to aſſiſt him; and that Cellini being rather a ſculptor than a graver, Torreggiani offered to make his fortune if he would accompany him to London. He was, adds Cellini, of a noble preſence, bold, and with the air of a great

great ſoldier rather than of a ſtatuary, his admirable geſtures, ſonorous voice, and the action of his brow ſtriking with amazement, ed ogni giorno ragionava delle ſue bravure con quelle beſtie di quelli Ingleſi, every day relating his brave treatment of thoſe beaſts the Engliſh. But as much ſtruck as Cellini was with this lofty behaviour to us ſavages, he took an averſion to his new maſter, on the latter boaſting of a blow in the face that he had given to the divine Michael Angelo with his fiſt, the marks of which he would carry to his grave. Others ſay that this event happened in the palace of the Cardinal de' Medici, Torreggiano being jealous of the ſuperior honours paid to Michael Angelo, whoſe noſe was flattened by the blow. The aggreſſor fled, and entered into the army, where he obtained a captain's commiſſion, but being ſoon diſguſted with that life, he retired to Florence, and from thence came to England.

To Torreggiano Vertue aſcribes likewiſe the tomb of Margaret counteſs of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. and that of Dr. Young maſter of the rolls, in the chapel at the rolls in Chancery-lane. There is a head of Henry VIII. in plaiſter in a round at

Hampton-court, which I ſhould ſuppoſe is by the ſame maſter.

Among the Harleian MSS. is an eſtimate of the charge and expence of the * monument to be erected for Henry VII. in which appear the names of other artiſts who worked under Torreggiano, as Laurence Ymber, kerver, for making the patrons in timber; Humphrey Walker, founder; Nicholas Ewer, copper-ſmith and gilder; John Bell and John Maynard, painters; Robert Vertue, Robert Jenings, and John Lebons, maſter maſons. There was another called William Vertue, who by indenture dated June 5, in the twenty-firſt year of Henry VII. engaged with John Hylmer, to vault and roof the choir of the chapel of St. George at

* At Strawberry-hill is a model in ſtone of the head of Henry 7th in the agony of death. It is in the great ſtyle of Raphael and Michael Angelo and worthy of either, though undoubtedly by Torreggiano. I have alſo a matchleſs portrait of the king, which ſeems evidently taken from the life, as ſtrongly repreſentative of his penſive policy; yet it is touched with ſo maſterly a knowledge of chiaro ſcuro, that I and better judges conjecture that it was recoloured by Rubens himſelf.

Windſor for 700 *l.* * Humphrey Cooke † was maſter carpenter employed in the new buildings at the Savoy. The tomb at Ormſkirk of Thomas Stanley earl of Derby, laſt huſband of Margaret of Richmond, was in the ſame ſtyle with that of his wife and ſon-in-law. On it lay an image of braſs five feet ſix inches long, which when caſt and repaired ready for gilding weighed 500 weight and a half. James Hales for making the image of timber had an hundred ſhillings.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the chapel of King's college Cambridge was ‡ finiſhed, a work, alone ſufficient to

* Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 136.

† Robert Cook, clarenceux in that reign, was a painter, and at Cockfield-hall in Yoxford in Suffolk drew the portraits of Henry VII. Henry VIII. queen Catherine, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Robert Wingfield, his lady and ſeven or eight ſons, all remaining there lately. At Boughton, the ſeat of the late duke of Montagu, is a ſmall piece of the family of Wingfield, containing ſeveral figures, which probably is the picture here alluded to.

‡ The name of the original architect is preſerved by Hearne, who in his preface to the Hiſtory of Glaſtonbury, p. lxv. ſays, "All that ſee King's college chapel in

ennoble any age. Several indentures are extant relative to the execution of that fabric. One in the fourth year of this king, between the provoſt, Robert Hacomblein, and Thomas Larke ſurveyor of the works on one part, and John Waſtell, maſter maſon, on the other part, by which he agrees to build

in Cambridge are ſtruck with admiration, and moſt are mighty deſirous of knowing the architect's name. Yet few can tell it. It appears however from their books at King's college [as I am informed by my friend Mr. Baker, the learned antiquary of Cambridge] that one Mr. Cloos, father of Nicholas Cloos, one of the firſt fellows of that college, and afterwards biſhop of Lichfield, was the architect of that chapel [though Godwin ſays the biſhop himſelf was maſter of the king's works here] as far as king Henry 6th's ſhare reacheth, and contriver or deſigner of the whole, afterwards finiſhed by Henry 7th, and beautified by Henry 8th."

In a MS. account of all the members of King's College, a copy of which is in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Cole of Blecheley, to whom the public and I are obliged for this and ſeveral other curious particulars, biſhop Nicholas Cloſe is mentioned as a perſon in whoſe capacity king Henry 6th. (who had appointed him fellow in 1443) had ſuch confidence, that he made him overſeer and manager of all his intended buildings and designs for that college: In the ſame MS. John Canterbury, a native of Tewkſbury and fellow of the college in 1451, is ſaid to have been clerk of the works there.

or

or ſet up a good ſufficient vault for the great church there, according to a plat ſigned by the lords executors of king Henry VII. they covenanting to pay him 1200 *l.* that is to ſay, 100 *l.* for every ſeverey (or partition) of the church, there being twelve ſevereys.

Another, dated Auguſt 4, in the fifth of the ſame king, between the ſame parties, for the vaulting of two porches of the king's college chapel, and alſo ſeven chapels, and nine other chapels behind the choir, according to a plat made and to be finiſhed, the vaults and battlements before the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt next enſuing, 25 *l.* to be paid for each of the ſaid porches; 20 *l.* for each of the ſeven chapels; 12 *l.* for each of the nine chapels; and for ſtone and workmanſhip of the battlements of all the ſaid chapels and porches, divided into twenty ſevereys, each ſeverey c *l.*

Another between the ſame perſons, for making and ſetting up the finyalls of the buttreſſes of the church, and one tower at one of the corners of the ſaid church, and for finiſhing and performing of the ſaid tower with finyalls, ryfaats, gablets, battlement, orbys and croſs-quarters and every thing

thing belonging to them. For every buttreſs to be paid 6 *l.*—13 *s.*—4 *d.* and for all the ſaid buttreſſes 140 *l.* and for the tower 100 *l.*

The two next deeds are no leſs curious, as they have preſerved the names of the artiſts who painted the magnificent windows in the ſame chapel.

Indenture of May 3, in the 18th of Hen. VIII. between the foreſaid provoſt and Thomas Larke Arch-deacon of Norwich, and Francis Williamſon of Southwark, glazier, and Simon Symonds of St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, glazier, the two latter agreeing curiouſly and ſufficiently to glaze four windows of the upper ſtory of the church of King's-college Cambridge, of orient colours and imagery of the ſtory of the Old Law and of the New Law, after the manner and goodneſs in every point of the king's new chapel at Weſtminſter, alſo according to the manner done by Bernard Flower glazier deceaſed; alſo according to ſuch patrons, otherwiſe called vidimus, to be ſet up within two years next enſuing, to be paid after the rate of ſixteen pence per foot for the glaſs.

The

The laſt is between the ſame provoſt and Thomas Larke on one part, and Galyon Hoone of the pariſh of St. Mary Magdalen, glazier, Richard Bownde of St. Clement's-Danes, glazier, Thomas Reve of St. Sepulchre's, glazier, and James Nicholſon of Southwark, glazier, on the other part, the latter agreeing to ſet up eighteen windows of the upper ſtory of King's college chapel, like thoſe of the King's new chapel at Weſtminſter, as Barnard Flower glazier (late deceaſed) by indenture ſtood to do, ſix of the ſaid windows to be ſet up within twelve months: The bands of lead to be after the rate of two pence per foot. *

In

* An Indenture more ancient than theſe, and containing names of perſons employed in this celebrated building, has been diſcovered in the archives of Caius-college, by the preſent maſter, Sir James Burrough, and is as follows;

"To alle chriſten people this pſent writyng endented ſeeng, redyng, or heryng, John Wulrich, maiſtr maſon of the werkes of the Kyngs college roial of our lady and ſeynt Nicholas of Cambridge, John Bell, maſon wardeyn in the ſame werkes, Richard Adam, and Robert Vogett, carpenters, arbitrours indifferently choſen by the reverent fader in God, Edward, by the grace of God, bysſhopp of Karlyle, Mr. or Wardeyn of the houſe

or

In theſe inſtruments there appears little leſs ſimplicity than in the old ones I have reported of Henry III. Yet as much as we imagine ourſelves arrived at higher perfection in the arts, it would not be eaſy for a maſter of a college now to go into St. Margaret's pariſh or Southwark and beſpeak the roof of ſuch a chapel as that of King's college, and a dozen or two of windows, ſo admirably drawn, and order them to be ſent home by ſuch a day, as if he was beſpeaking a chequered pavement or a church bible. Even thoſe obſcure artiſts Williamſon, Symonds, Flower, Hoone, &c. would figure as conſiderable painters in any reign; and what a rarity in a collection of drawings would be one of their vidimus's! It is remarkable that one of the fineſt of theſe windows is the ſtory of Ananias and Saphira

or college of St. Michael of Cambr: and the ſcolers of the ſame on the oon part, and maiſt: Henry Coſſey, warden of the college or hall of the Annuntiation or Gonville hall, and the ſellowes and ſcolers of the ſame, on the other part, of and upon the Eveſdroppe in the garden of Ffyſhwyke hoſtle, belonginge to Gonville hall &c. Written at Cambr: 17. Aug. 1476. 16, Edw. 4."

as

as told by Raphael in the cartoons—probably the cartoons being conſigned to Flanders for tapeſtry, drawings from them were ſent hither; an inſtance of the diligence of our glaſs-painters in obtaining the beſt deſigns for their work.,

John Muſtyan born at Enguien, is recorded as Henry's arras-maker; John de Mayne as his ſeal-graver; and Richard Atſyll * as his graver of ſtones. † Skelton mentions one maſter Newton as a painter of that time;

> Caſting my ſight the chambre about
> To ſe how duly eche thyng in ordre was,
> Towarde the dore as we were commying out
> I ſaw maiſter Newton ſyt with his compas
> His plummet, his penſell, his ſpectacles of glas,
> Devyſing in picture by his induſtrious wit
> Of my laurel the proces every whitte.

And among the payments of the treaſurer of the chambers, reported above, is one of

* Hillyard (the ſame perſon probably, of whom more hereafter) cut the images of Henry VIII. and his children on a ſardonyx, in the collection of the duke of Devonſhire. The earl of Exeter has ſuch another. Lady Mary Wortley had a head of the ſame king on a little ſtone in a ring; cameo on one ſide and intaglia on the other.

† With a fee of twenty pounds a year.

40 *l.*

40 *l.* to Levina Tirlinks paintrixe—a name that occurs but once more, in a roll of new-year's gifts to and from queen Elizabeth. This gentlewoman preſents the queen's picture painted finely on a card.

In the cathedral of Chicheſter are pictures of the kings of England and biſhops of that ſee, painted about the year 1519 by one Bernardi, anceſtor of a family ſtill ſettled in thoſe parts. They were done at the expence of biſhop Sherborne, who erected a monument for himſelf, yet remaining there. Vermander mentions one Theodore Bernardi of Amſterdam, maſter of Michael Coxie, who Vertue thinks painted thoſe works at Chicheſter, as they are in a Dutch taſte. They were repainted in 1747 by one Tremaine.

The congenial temper of Wolſey diſplayed itſelf in as magnificent a manner as the king's. Whitehall, Hampton-court, and his college of Chriſt-church, were monuments of his grandeur and diſgrace, flowing from the bounty of and then reverting to the crown. In 1524 he began a monument for himſelf at Windſor, erecting a ſmall chapel adjoining to St. George's church which

which was to contain his tomb, the deſign whereof, ſays lord Herbert, * was ſo glorious that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. One Benedetto, a ſtatuary of Florence took it in hand and continued it 'till 1529, receiving for ſo much as was already done 4250 ducats. The Cardinal, adds the hiſtorian, when this was finiſhed, did purpoſe to make a tomb for Henry, but on his fall, the king made uſe of ſo much as he found fit, and called it his. Dr. Fiddes ſays that the Cardinal made ſuit to the king to have his own image with ſuch part of his tomb as ſhall pleaſe the king to let him have, to be ſent to York, where he intended to be buried. In the ſame collections mention is made of Antony Cavallari, as guilder of the tomb, whom the Cardinal is beſought to permit to return home to Antwerp, if he means to employ him no farther, and alſo that Benedict the carver may return to Italy. But Benedict Henry took into his own ſervice, and employed on the ſame tomb which his majeſty had now adopted for himſelf.—This perſon was Benedetto da Rovezzano, another Florentine ſculptor, who, Vaſari

* Page 242.

ſays,

ſays, executed many works of marble and bronze for Henry, and got an ample fortune, with which he returned to his native country, but his eyes having ſuffered by working in the foundery, he grew blind in 1550 and died ſoon after. The celebrated Baccio Bandinelli made an admirable model of wood with figures of wax for the ſame monument; but Benedetto of Rovezzano, it ſeems, was preferred. *

The ſepulchral † chapel was never compleated. Henry and Jane Seymour were buried in St. George's church, with an intention of their being removed into the monument as ſoon as it ſhould be finiſhed. Charles I. reſumed the deſign, propoſing to

* I ſuppoſe it was Antony Cavallari or Benedetto da Rovezzano who made the large ſtatue in metal of Henry VIII. in a cloyſter at Gorhambury; it is not in a bad taſte.

† Leland ſays that the ancient chapel of St. George built by Edward III. ſtood on this very ſpot, and that Henry VII. pulled it down, and erected the preſent tomb-houſe in it's place, intending himſelf to be buried there; but afterwards changed his mind and built his chapel at Weſtminſter. See Leland's comment on the Cygnea Cantio publiſhed with his Itinerary by Hearne, vol. 9.

enlarge

enlarge the chapel and fit it for his own and the interment of his ſucceſſors. But the whole was demoliſhed in 1646, by order of parliament and the rich figures of copper gilt melted down. James II. repaired this building, and employed Verrio to paint it, intending it for a popiſh chapel—but no deſtination of it has yet ſucceeded; it remains a ruin, known by the name of the tomb-houſe.

CHAP. V.

State of Architecture to the end of the Reign of HENRY VIII.

IT is unlucky for the world, that our earlieſt anceſtors were not aware of the curioſity which would inſpire their deſcendents of knowing minutely every thing relating to them. When they placed three or four branches of trees acroſs the trunks of others and covered them with boughs or ſtraw to keep out the weather, the good people were not apprized that they were diſcovering architecture, and that it would be learnedly agitated ſome thouſand of years afterwards who was the inventor of this ſtupendous ſcience. In complaiſance to our inquiries they would undoubtedly have tranſmitted an account of the firſt hovel that was ever built, and from that patriarch hut we ſhould poſſeſs a faithfull genealogy of all it's deſcendents: Yet ſuch a curioſity would deſtroy much greater treaſures; it would

would annihilate fables, reſearches, conjectures, hypotheſes, diſputes, blunders and diſſertations, that library of human impertinence. Neceſſity and a little common ſenſe produced all the common arts, which the plain folks who practiced them were not idle enough to record. Their inventions were obvious, their productions uſefull and clumſy. Yet the little merit there was in fabricating them being ſoon conſigned to oblivion, we are bountifull enough to ſuppoſe that there was deſign and ſyſtem in all they did, and then take infinite pains to digeſt and methodize thoſe imaginary rudiments. No ſooner is any aera of an invention invented, but different countries begin to aſſert an excluſive title to it, and the only point in which any countries agree is perhaps in aſcribing the diſcovery to ſome other nation remote enough in time for neither of them to know any thing of it. Let but France and England once diſpute which firſt uſed a hatchet, and they ſhall never be accorded 'till the chancery of learning accommodates the matter by pronouncing that each received that invaluable utenſil from the Phoenicians. Common ſenſe

that would interpoſe by obſerving how probable it is that the neceſſaries of life were equally diſcovered in every region, cannot be heard; a hammer could only be invented by the Phoenicians, the firſt poliſhed people of whom we are totally ignorant. Whoever has thrown away his time on the firſt chapters of general hiſtories, or of hiſtories of arts, muſt be ſenſible that theſe reflections are but too well grounded. I deſign them as an apology for not going very far back into the hiſtory of our architecture. Vertue and ſeveral other curious perſons have taken great pains to enlighten the obſcure ages of that ſcience; they find no names of architects, nay little more, than what they might have known without inquiring; that our anceſtors had buildings. Indeed Tom Hearne, Brown Willis, and ſuch illuſtrators did ſometimes go upon more poſitive ground: They did now and then ſtumble upon an arch, a tower, nay a whole church, ſo dark, ſo ugly, ſo uncouth, that they were ſure it could not have been built ſince any idea of grace had been tranſported into the iſland. Yet with this inconteſtable ſecurity on their ſide, they ſtill had

had room for doubting; Danes, Saxons, Normans, were all ignorant enough to have claims to peculiar uglineſs in their faſhions. It was difficult to aſcertain the period * when one ungracious form joſtled out another: and this perplexity at laſt led them into ſuch refinement, that the term *Gothic Architecture*, inflicted as a reproach on our ancient buildings in general by our anceſtors who revived the Grecian taſte, is now conſidered but as a ſpecies of modern elegance, by thoſe who wiſh to diſtinguiſh the Saxon ſtyle from it. This Saxon ſtyle begins to be defined by flat and round arches, by ſome undulating zigzags on certain old fabrics, and by a very few other characteriſtics, all evidences of barbarous and ignorant times. I do not mean to ſay ſimply that the round arch is a proof of ignorance;

* When men inquire, "who invented Gothic buildings?" they might as well aſk, "who invented bad Latin?" The former was a corruption of the Roman architecture, as the latter was of the Roman language. Both were debaſed in barbarous ages; both were refined, as the age poliſhed itſelf; but neither were reſtored to the original ſtandard. Beautifull Gothic architecture was engrafted on Saxon deformity; and pure Italian ſucceeded to vitiated Latin.

but being ſo natural, it is ſimply, when unaccompanied by any gracefull ornaments, mark of a rude age—if attended by miſhapen and heavy decorations, a certain mark of it. The pointed arch, that peculiar of Gothic architecture, was certainly intended as an improvement on the circular, and the men who had not the happineſs of lighting on the ſimplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however ſo lucky as to ſtrike out a thouſand graces and effects, which rendered their buildings magnificent, yet genteel, vaſt, yet light, † venerable and pictureſque. It is difficult for the nobleſt Grecian temple to convey half ſo many impreſſions to the mind, as a cathedral does of the beſt Gothic taſte—a proof of ſkill in the architects and of addreſs in the prieſts who erected them. The latter exhauſted their knowledge of the paſſions in compoſing edifices whoſe pomp, mechaniſm, vaults, tombs, painted windows, gloom and perſpectives infuſed ſuch ſenſations of romantic devotion; and they were happy in finding artiſts capable of executing ſuch machinery.

† For inſtance, the facade of the cathedral of Rheims.

One

One muſt have taſte to be ſenſible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants paſſions to feel Gothic. In St. Peter's one is convinced that it was built by great princes—In Weſtminſter-abbey, one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes the firſt impreſſion—and though ſtripped of it's altars and ſhrines, it is nearer converting one to popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes. Gothic churches infuſe ſuperſtition; Grecian, admiration. The papal ſee amaſſed it's wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and diſplays it in Grecian temples. *

* In the ſix volumes of letters publiſhed at Rome and intituled, Raccolta di Lettere ſulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura, are ſeveral of Monſr. Mariette, a moſt worthy man, but too naturally infected by the prejudices of his country, his religion, and his profeſſion of connoiſſeur. All profeſſions are too apt to be led by words, and to talk by rote. Connoiſſeurs in the arts are not the leaſt bigotted. Taſte has it's inquiſition as well as popery: and though M. Mariette has been too partial to me, he has put this work in his Index Expurgatorius, from totally miſunderſtanding my meaning. Here follows his cenſure of the paſſage above, in which I have aſcribed more addreſs to the architects of Gothic churches, than to thoſe of St. Peter's—not as architects,

I certainly do not mean by this little contraſt to make any compariſon between the rational beauties of regular architecture, and

tects, but as politicians—a diſtinction M. Mariette did not give himſelf time to make, or he could not have underſtood a book ſo ill that he gave himſelf the trouble to tranſlate: after an account of theſe anecdotes, and too *flattering* mention of the author, he ſays, "Queſt' opera e arrichita di preſſo di cento ritratti, e la ſtampa e veramente magnifica. Io vi farò ridere, ſe vi dirò, che la Chieſa di San Pietro non e di ſuo guſto, & che egli la trova troppo carica d'ornati, il che non gli pare proprio per un tempio degno dello Maeſta dell' Eſſere ſupremo, che lo abita: che gli ornamenti, che vi ſono ſparſi à profuſione, non vi ſono poſti per altro che per fomentare † la ſuperſtitione, di che egli accuſa malamente la noſtra Chieſa Romana. Ed à quale edifizio credete voi, che egli conceda la preferenza ſopra à S. Pietro? A una Chieſa fabricata ſul guſto Gotico, & le di cui muraglie ſieno tutte nude: coſa, che fa Pieta!"

† Obſerve that I have ſaid juſt the contrary; (in that Gothic churches inſpire ſuperſtition; Grecian, admiration.) In my compariſon between the effects of a Grecian and a Gothic church, is there any queſtion of preferring the latter to the former in point of architecture? Have I not ſaid that Gothic architects had not the happineſs of diſcovering the true beauties of the Grecian orders? Is there a word of St. Peter's being overloaded with ornament? Have I not even ſaid, that a Gothic church, *though* ſtripped of its ſhrines and ſplendor, makes ſtronger religious impreſſion, than the cathedral of Rome, though advantaged by all thoſe decorations! and why, but becauſe gloom and well-applied obſcurity are better friends to devotion than even wealth! A dark landſcape, ſavage with rocks and precipices,

and the unreſtrained licentiouſneſs of that which is called Gothic. Yet I am clear that the perſons who executed the latter, had much more knowledge of their art, more taſte, more genius, and more propriety than we chuſe to imagine. There is a magic hardineſs in the execution of ſome of their works which would not have ſuſtained themſelves if dictated by mere caprice. There is a tradition that Sir Chriſtopher Wren went once a year to ſurvey the roof of the chapel of King's college, and ſaid that if any man would ſhow him where to place the firſt ſtone, he would engage to build ſuch another. That there is great grace in ſeveral places, even in their cluſters of ſlender pillars, and in the application of their ornaments, though the principles of the lat-

precipices, by Salvator Roſa, may be preferred to a ſerene ſunſhine of Claud Lorrain; not becauſe it is a more pleaſing, but a more ſtriking picture. Cato is a regular drama, Macbeth an extravagant one; yet who thinks the genius of Addiſon equal to Shakeſpear's? The one copies rules, the other the paſſions. A Gibbs and money, a French critic and an Engliſh ſchoolmaſter, can make a building or a tragedy without a fault againſt proportion or the three unities; and the one or the other might make either. It required a little more genius to write Macbeth, or to eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion; and though Monſr. Mariette does not know it, his creed, which he miſtakes for architecture, was more obliged to Gothic architects than to Michael Angelo and the reſt, who deſigned St. Peter's.

ter

ter are ſo confined that they may almoſt all be reduced to the trefoil, extended and varied, I ſhall not appeal to the edifices themſelves—It is ſufficient to obſerve, that Inigo Jones, ſir Chriſtopher Wren and Kent, who certainly underſtood beauty, blundered * into the heavieſt and clumſieſt compoſitions whenever they aimed at imitations of the Gothic—Is an art deſpicable in which a great maſter cannot ſhine?

Conſidering how ſcrupulouſly our architects confine themſelves to antique precedent, perhaps ſome deviations into Gothic may a little relieve them from that ſervile imitation. I mean that they ſhould ſtudy both taſtes, not blend them: that they ſhould dare to invent in the one, ſince they will hazard nothing in the other. When they have built a pediment and portico, the Sibyll's circular temple, and tacked the wings to a houſe by a colonade, they ſeem *au bout de leur Latin.* If half a dozen manſions were all that remained of old Rome, *inſtead of half a dozen temples, I do not*

* In Lincoln's-inn chapel, the ſteeple of the church at *Warwick*, the *king's-bench* in *Weſtminſter-hall*, the ſcreen at Glouceſter &c.

doubt

doubt but our churches would reſemble the private houſes of Roman citizens. Our buildings muſt be as Vitruvian, as writings in the days of Eraſmus were obliged to be Ciceronian. Yet confined as our architects are to few models, they are far from having made all the uſe they might of thoſe they poſſeſs. There are variations enough to be ſtruck out to furniſh new ſcenes of ſingular beauty. The application of loggias, arcades, terraſſes and flights of ſteps, at different ſtages of a building, particularly in ſuch ſituations as Whitehall to the river, would have a magnificent effect. It is true, our climate and the expence of building in England are great reſtrictions on imagination; but when one talks of the extent of which architecture is capable, one muſt ſuppoſe that pomp and beauty are the principal objects; one ſpeaks of palaces and public buildings; not of ſhops and ſmall houſes—but I muſt reſtrain this diſſertation, and come to the hiſtoric part, which will lie in a ſmall compaſs.

Felibien took great pains to aſcertain the revival of architecture, after the deſtruction of the true taſte by the inundation of the

northern

northern nations; but his diſcoveries were by no means anſwerable to his labour. Of French builders he did find a few names, and here and there an Italian or German. Of Engliſh he owns he did not meet with the leaſt trace; while at the ſame time the founders of ancient buildings were every where recorded: ſo carefull have the monks (the only hiſtorians of thoſe times) been to celebrate bigotry and paſs over the arts. But I own I take it for granted that theſe ſeeming omiſſions are to be attributed to their want of perſpicuity rather than to neglect. As all the other arts * were confined to cloyſters, ſo undoubtedly was architecture too; and when we read that ſuch a biſhop or ſuch an abbot built ſuch and ſuch an edifice, I am perſuaded that they often gave the plans as well as furniſhed the neceſſary funds;

* The arts flouriſhed ſo much in convents to the laſt, that one Gyffard, a viſitor employed by Thomas Cromwell to make a report of the ſtate of thoſe ſocieties previous to their ſuppreſſion, pleads in behalf of the houſe of Wolſtrop, "That there was not one religious perſon there, but that he could and did uſe, either embrothering, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, *carv[illegible]*." Strype's memor. vol. i. p. 255

but

but as thoſe chroniclers ſcarce ever ſpecify when this was or was not the caſe, we muſt not at this diſtance of time pretend to conjecture what prelates were or were not capable of directing their own foundations.

Felibien is ſo impartial an author, that he does not even reject the ſables with which our own writers have repleniſhed the chaſms in our hiſtory. He quotes Matthew of Weſtminſter for the flouriſhing condition of architecture in Britain at a time when indeed neither that nor any other ſcience flouriſhed here—King Arthur, ſay they,* cauſed many churches and conſiderable edifices to be erected here. It would in truth have been an act of injuſtice to us to omit this viſion, in a man who on the authority of Agathias, relates that the emperor Juſtinian had in his ſervice one Anthemius, ſo able a *mathematician* that he could make artificial earthquakes, and actually did revenge himſelf by ſuch an experiment on one Zeno a rhetorician. The machinery was extremely ſimple, and yet I queſtion whether the greateſt mathemati-

* Felib. vol. v. p. 165.

cian

cian of this age is expert enough to produce the ſame effect; it conſiſted in nothing but placing ſeveral caldrons of hot water againſt the walls of Zeno's houſe. The ſame author has cited Procopius for the origine of dams to reſtrain the courſe of rivers, the method of whoſe conſtruction was revealed to Chryſes, an architect of Alexandria, in a dream. Dreams, lies, and abſurdities are all one finds in ſearching into early times. In a ſcarcity of facts probability was the laſt thing to which ſuch authors attended, and conſequently they left a mark by which, if we pleaſed, we might diſtinguiſh between the truth and what they invented.

In Felibien † the only thing I find to my purpoſe, and all that he really found in Matthew of Weſtminſter, is, that in the kingdom of the Mercians Sexulphus, abbot and afterwards biſhop, built a conſiderable monaſtery called ‡ Medes Hampſtede: unleſs it may be a ſatisfaction to antiquaries to know who firſt invented thoſe Groteſque monſters and burleſque faces with which the

† Felib. p. 185.
‡ Peterborough.

ſpouts

ſpouts and gutters of ancient buildings are decorated. It was one Marchion of Arezzo,* architect to Pope Innocent III. Indeed I ſpeak now critically; Marchion uſed thoſe grinning animals only to ſupport columns—but in ſo fantaſtic an age they were ſure of being copied, and ſoon arrived at the top.

Vertue, no leſs induſtrious than Felibien, could diſcover but two ancient architects, Gundulphus who built the tower † (the ſame perſon who erected the cathedral of Rocheſter) and Peter of Colechurch prieſt and chaplain, who in the year 1163, rebuilt London bridge of timber. ‡ Edward

* Felib. p. 224.

† See the compact between the king and biſhop in the Textus Roffenſis, publiſhed by Hearne; and that between the ſame biſhop and William Rufus for erecting the caſtle of Rocheſter. cap. 88. and Stowe's Survey of London.

‡ William de Sens ſoon after the year 1174 temp. Hen. 2di. built the choir of the cathedral of Canterbury, as it ſtill exiſts. Helias de Berham, canon of Saliſbury, à primâ fundatione (temp. Hen. 3di) rector fuit novae fabricae per 25 annos; et Robertus caementarius rexit per 25 annos. See Leland's Itinerary vol. iii. p. 66. Helias de Berham was probably the perſon mentioned above p. 2. by the name of Elyas in the reign of king John.

Fitzodo, we have ſeen, was maſter of the new works at Weſtminſter under Henry III. and may fairly claim his place in this liſt. *

In the cathedral of Lincoln is a curious graveſtone over a maſon of that church, almoſt perfect, except in that material part the year of his death, the latter figures being obliterated. On each ſide of him is his trowel and ſquare;

> Hic jacet Ricardus de Gayniſburgh olym Cementarius hujus eccleſie qui obiit duodecim. Kalendarum Junii Anno Domini M ccc.—

But the brighteſt name in this liſt is William of Wykeham, who from being clerk of the works roſe to be biſhop of Wincheſter and lord chancellor—a height which few men have reached by mere merit in any mechanic ſcience. Wykeham had the ſole direction of the buildings at Windſor and Queenborough-caſtle; not to mention his own foundations. He roſe by pleaſing one of the greateſt princes, and deſerved his fortune by beſtowing it on noble charities.

* See Stowe's Survey p. 28. Iſembert of Xaintes is mentioned as a builder of the bridge of London, and of the chapel in it.

William

William Rede biſhop of Chicheſter in 1369, reckoned the beſt mathematician of the age, was a prelate of ſimilar taſte; he built the firſt library at Merton college, and the caſtle of Amberley.

In St. Michael's church at St. Alban's were the following inſcriptions:

" Hic jacet Thomas Wolvey [or Wolven] Latomus in arte, nec non armiger illuſtriſſimi Principis Ric. ſecundi, quondam Regis Angliæ, qui obiit Anno Dom. M,cccc,xxx. in vigiliâ Sti. Thomæ Martyris, cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen."

" This man, as far as I underſtand by this inſcription [ſays Weaver, p. 582.] was the maſter-maſon, or ſurveior of the king's ſtone-works, as alſo eſquire to the king's perſon."

" Hic jacet Richardus Wolvèn [or Wolvey] Lathonius, filius Johannis Wolven, cum uxoribus ſuis, Agnète et Agnete, et cum octo filiis, et decem filiabus ſuis, qui Richardus obiit An. 1490. Quorum animabus &c."

I have myſelf turned over moſt of our hiſtories of churches, and can find nothing like the names of artiſts. With reſpect to the

Grecian nor Gothic, and half embroidered with foliage, were crammed over frontiſpieces, facades and chimnies, and loſt all grace by wanting ſimplicity. This mungrel ſpecies laſted 'till late in the reign of James the firſt.

The beginning of reformation * in building ſeems owing to Holbein. His porch at Wilton, though purer than the works of his ſucceſſors, is of this baſtard ſort; but the ornaments and proportions are gracefull and well choſen. I have ſeen of his drawings too in the ſame kind. When he acquired this taſte is difficult to ſay; probably it was adopted from his acquaintance with his fellow-labourers at court. Henry had actually an Italian architect in his ſervice, to whom I ſhould without ſcruple aſſign the introduction of regular architecture, if it was clear that he arrived here near ſo early as Holbein. He was called John of Padua, and his very office ſeems to intimate ſomething novel in his practice. He was termed *Devizor of his majeſty's buildings*. In one of the office-books which I have quoted, there

* Brunelleſchi began to reform architecture in the fourteenth century. See Voltaire. Hiſt. Univ. vol. ii. p. 179.

is

is a payment to him of 36 *l.* — 10 *s.*—0 *d.* In the ſame place is a payment of the ſame ſum to Laurence Bradſhaw, ſurveyor, with a fee of two ſhillings per diem. To the clerk of the latter, 9 *l.* — 2 *s.* — 0 *d.* for riding expences, 53 *l.* — 6 *s.* — 0 *d.* and for boat hire 13 *l.* — 6 *s.* — 8 *d.* John de Padua is mentioned again in Rymer's Foedera, on the grant of a fee of 2 *s.* per diem.

AD. 1544. Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, De gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia et mero motu noſtris, necnon in conſideratione boni et fidelis ſervitii quod dilectus ſerviens noſter *Johannes de Padua* nobis in architectura, ac. aliis in re muſica inventis impendit ac impendere intendit,

Dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per praeſentes damus et concedimus eidem *Johanni* vadium ſive feodum *Duorum Solidorum Sterlingorum per diem*,

Habendum et annuatim percipiendum *praefato Johanni* dictum vadium ſive foedum *Duorum Solidorum*, durante beneplacito noſtro de theſauro noſtro ad receptam ſcaccarii noſtri, per manus theſaurii et camerariorum noſtrorum ibidem pro tempore exiſtentium,

ad feſta Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paſchae per aequales portiones;

Et inſuper ſciatis quod, cum dictus *Johannes* nobis inſervivit in dicta arte a *Feſto Paſchae* quod erat in anno regni noſtri triceſimo quarto, prout certam habemus notitiam, nos de uberiori gratia noſtra dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per praeſentes damus et concedimus *eidem Johanni* praefatum feodum *Duorum Solidorum* per diem habendum et percipiendum eidem, a dicto feſto Paſchae nomine regardi noſtri;

Eo quod expreſſa mentio, &c. Teſte rege apud Weſtmonaſterium triceſimo die Junii.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

This grant was renewed to him in the third of Edward VI. From the firſt warrant it appears that John of Padua was not only an architect but muſician, a profeſſion remarkably acceptable to Henry.

I cannot certainly indicate to the reader any particular work * of this maſter; but theſe

* Holmby-houſe was one of our earlieſt productions in regular architecture, and by part of the frontiſpiece lately ſtanding, appeared to be of a very pure and beautifull ſtyle, but can not well be aſcribed to John of Padua as the date was 1583. Wollaton-hall in Nottinghamſhire

theſe imperfect notes may lead curious perſons to farther diſcoveries. Jerome di Treviſi, one of the painters mentioned before, is alſo ſaid to have built ſome houſes here. *

Henry had another architect of much note in his time, but who excelled *chiefly* in Gothic (from whence it is clear that the new taſte was alſo introduced) This was Sir Richard Lea maſter maſon, and maſter of the pioneers in Scotland. Henry gave him † the manor of Sopewell in Hertfordſhire, and he himſelf beſtowed a brazen font on the church of Verulam, or St. Alban's, within a mile of which place out of the ruins of the abbey he built a ſeat called Lees-place. The font was taken in the Scottiſh wars, and had ſerved for the chriſtening of the royal children of that kingdom: A pompous inſcription ‡ was en-

hamſhire was perhaps of the ſame hand. The porch of Charlcot-houſe, the ſeat of the Lucys, is in the ſame ſtyle, and at Kenelworth was another, with the arms of Dudley Earl of Leiceſter.

* Felibien vol. ii. p. 71.

† Chauncy's Hertfordſhire p. 461, where he is called Sir Richard à Leigh.

‡ See it in Camden's Britannia p. 355. vol. i. edit. 1722.

graved on it by the donor; * but the font was ſtolen in the civil wars.

Hector Aſheley appears, by one of the office-books that I have quoted, to have been much employed by Henry in his buildings, but whether as architect or only ſuperviſor is not clear. In the ſpace of three years were paid to him on account of buildings at Hunſdon-houſe above nineteen hundred pounds.

* Nicholas Stone ſen. the ſtatuary and maſter maſon had a portrait of this Sir Richard Lee, whom he much eſteemed. It was painted on board about a foot high, his ſword by his ſide. It came afterwards to one whom Vertue calls, old Stoakes, and he gave it to —— Jackſon, maſter maſon, lately dead.

CHAP. VI.

State of Painting under EDWARD VI. *and* MARY.

UNDER a minor prince, and amidſt a ſtruggle of religions, we are not likely to meet with much account of the arts. Nobody was at leiſure to mind or record them. Yet the ſeeds ſown by Henry were not eradicated; Holbein was ſtill alive. We have ſeen that he was choſen to celebrate the inſtitution of Bridewell. He drew the young king more than once after he came to the crown.

Among the ſtores of old pictures at Somerſet-houſe was one, painted on a long board, repreſenting the head of Edward VI. to be diſcerned only by the reflection of a cylindric mirrour. On the ſide of the head was a landſcape, not ill done. On the frame was written Gulielmus pinxit. This was probably

MARC

MARC WILLEMS,

Who was born at Antwerp about 1527, and was ſcholar of Michael Coxie. He was reckoned to ſurpaſs his cotemporaries in his manner and facility of compoſing. This picture is the ſole evidence of his having been in England: in his own country he painted the decollation of St. John, ſtill extant in the church of St. Rombout, for which too he drew the ſtory of Judith and Holofernes. When Philip II. made his public entry into Mechlin in 1549, Willems was employed to paint a triumphal arch, on which he repreſented the hiſtory of Dido. He made deſigns for moſt of the painters, glaſs-painters and arras-makers of his time, and died lamented in 1561.*

Another picture of Edward VI. was in the collection of Charles I. painted by Hans Hueet, of whom nothing elſe is known. It was ſold for 20 *l.* in the Civil War.

There was another painter who lived at this time, of whom Vertue found an account in a MS. of Nicholas Hilliard, but never diſcovered any of his works. As this perſon

* See Deſcamps and Sandrart.

is ſo much commended by a brother artiſt, one may believe he had merit, and as the teſtimony may lead to farther inveſtigation, I ſhall give the extract in the author's own words;

"Nevertheleſs, if a man be ſo induced by nature, and live in time of trouble and under a government wherein arts be not eſteemed, and himſelf but of ſmall means, woe be unto him, as unto an untimely birth; for of my own knowledge, it hath made poor men poorer, as amongſt others many, that moſt rare Engliſh drawer of ſtory works in black and white

JOHN BOSSAM,

One for his ſkill worthy to have been ſerjeant-painter to any king or emperor, whoſe works in that kind are comparable with the beſt whatſoever in cloth, and in diſtemper-colours for black and white; who being very poor, and belike wanting to buy fairer colours, wrought therefore for the moſt part in white and black; and growing yet poorer by charge of children, &c. gave painting clean over: but being a very fair-conditioned, zealous and godly perſon grew into a love of God's divine ſervice upon

upon the liberty of the goſpel at the coming in of queen Elizabeth, and became a reading miniſter; only unfortunate, becauſe he was Engliſh born, for even the ſtrangers * would otherwiſe have ſet him up."

The protector was magnificent, and had he lived to compleat Somerſet-houſe, would probably have called in the aſſiſtance of thoſe artiſts whoſe works are the nobleſt furniture. I have already mentioned his portrait by Holbein. His ambitious ducheſs Anne Stanhope and her ſon are preſerved in a ſmall piece † of oil-colours at Petworth, but I know not who the painter was, nor of the portrait of the protector's brother, admiral Seymour, at Longleat. A miniature of the ſame perſon is in the poſſeſſion of Mrs. George Grenville. Of the admiral's creature Sir William Sherrington there are two or three pictures extant; one, among Holbein's drawings at Kenſington. This man was maſter of the mint, and was convicted by his own confeſſion of great frauds. ‡

* King Philip and the Spaniards.

† There is a head of her too at Sion, and Mr. Whiteman has given me another in ſmall, with a potrait of the protector in her hand; painted probably after his death.

‡ Strype's memorials vol. ii. p. 123.

He

He put the mint of Briſtol into the hands of the admiral, who was to take thence 10,000 *l.* per month for his rebellious pupoſes. Yet Sherrington was pardoned and reſtored. It has never obſerved, but I ſuppoſe the lightneſs which is remarked in the coins of Edward VI. was owing to the embezzlements of this perſon.

Now I am mentioning the mint, I ſhall take notice that among the patent-rolls is a grant in the 6th of Edward to Antony Deric of the office of capital ſculptor of the monies in the tower of London; and at the end of the ſame year John Brown is appointed during pleaſure ſurveyor of the coins. Clement Adams has a grant to inſtruct the king's henchmen or pages; an office he retained under queen Elizabeth. In Hackluyt's voyages,* that of Richard Chanceler to Cathay is ſaid to be written in Latin by that learned young man Clement Adams.

Of the protector's rival, Dudley duke of Northumberland, there is a good head in the chamber at Knowle, where there are ſo many curious portraits, ſuppoſed to have been aſſembled by the treaſurer Buckhurſt.

* Page 270.

Another

Another perſon of ſome note in this reign was Sir John Godſalve, created knight of the carpet at the king's coronation; * and commiſſioner of viſitation the ſame year; † and in the third year comptroller of the mint. His portrait is in the cloſet at Kenſington, and Vertue mentions another in miniature, drawn by John Betts, ‡ (who he ſays was an eſteemed painter in the reign of queen Elizabeth) On this picture was written, captum in caſtris ad Boloniam 1540; with his arms, party per pale gules and azure, on a feſs wavy argent, between three croſlets pattee, or, as many creſents ſable. The knight was drawn with a ſpear and ſhield. This picture belonged to Chriſtopher Godſalve, clerk of the victualling-office in the reign of Charles I. in whoſe cauſe he loſt 7,000*l.* and was near being hanged. He was employed by Charles II. in the navy-office and lived to 1694.

Guillim Stretes was painter to king Edward; in 1551 "He had paid him, ſays Strype, § fifty marks for recompence of

* See Strype.

† Heylin.

‡ Vertue ſays that Betts learned of Hilliard.

§ Vol. ii. p. 494.

three great tables made by the ſaid Guillim, whereof two were the pictures of his highneſs, ſent to Sir Thomas Hoby, and Sir John Maſon (ambaſſadors abroad) the third a picture of the late earl of Surrey attainted, and by the council's commandment fetched from the ſaid Guillim's houſe." The peculiarity of theſe laſt words induce me to think that I have diſcovered this very picture. In my father's collection was a very large piece repreſenting that unfortunate lord, at whole length, leaning on a broken column, with this motto, Sat ſupereſt, and other devices, particularly the arms of England, one of the articles of his impeachment, and only the initial letters of his name. This was evidently painted after his death, and as his father was ſtill detained in priſon during the whole reign of Edward, it cannot be probable that a portrait of the ſon, with ſuch marks of honour, ſhould be drawn by order of the court. On the contrary, it's *being fetched from Guillim's houſe by the council's commandment*, ſeems to imply that it was ſeized by their order. It is now in the poſſeſſion of his grace the duke of Norfolk.

Architec-

Architecture preſerved in this reign the footing it had acquired under the laſt king. Somerſet-houſe is a compound of Grecian and Gothic. It was built on the ſcite of Cheſter inn, where the ancient poet Occleve formerly lived. As the penſion to John of Padua was renewed in the third of this king, one may ſuppoſe that he owed it to the protector, and was the architect of this palace. In the ſame ſtyle and dating it's origine from the ſame power, as Somerſet-houſe, is Longleat, though not begun 'till 1567. It was built by Sir John Thynne, a principal officer to the protector.

1553.

The reign of Mary, though ſhorter even than that of her brother, makes a much more conſiderable figure in the annals of painting. It was diſtinguiſhed by more good painters than one; the principal was

Sir ANTONIO MORE.

He was a native of Utrecht, and ſcholar of John Schorel, * but ſeems to have ſtudied

* Schorel was ſcholar of Mabuſe, and was a poet, muſician and orator. See an account of him in Sandrart, p. 235.

the

the manner of Holbein, to which he approached nearer than to the freedom of deſign in the works of the great maſters, that he ſaw at Rome. Like Holbein he was a cloſe imitator of nature, but did not arrive at his extreme delicacy of finiſhing; on the contrary, Antonio ſometimes ſtruck into a bold and maſculine ſtyle, with a good knowledge of the Chiaro Scuro. In 1522 he drew Philip II. and was recommended by cardinal Granvelle to Charles V. who ſent him to Portugal, where he painted John III. the king, Catherine of Auſtria his queen, and the infanta Mary, firſt wife of Philip. For theſe three pictures he received ſix hundred ducats, beſides a gold chain of one thouſand florins, and other preſents. He had one hundred ducats * for his common portraits. But ſtill ampler rewards were beſtowed on him when ſent into England, to draw the picture of queen Mary, †

* Titian himſelf had but one hundred pieces of gold. See Sandrart, p. 224.

† Sandrart ſays ſhe was very handſome. It is certain that the drawing of her (when about ſixteen) by Holbein at Windſor is not diſagreeable though her later pictures have all a fierce hard-favoured countenance.

the intended bride of Philip. They gave him one hundred pounds, a gold chain, and a penſion of one hundred pounds a quarter as painter to their majeſties. He made various portraits of the queen; * one was ſent by cardinal Granvelle to the emperor, who ordered two hundred florins to Antonio. He remained in England during the reign of Mary, and was much employed, but having neglected, as is frequent, to write the names on the portraits he drew, moſt of them have loſt part of their value, by our ignorance of the perſons repreſented. The pooreſt performers have it in their power to add ſo much merit to their works, as can be conferred by identifying the ſubjects, which would be a little reparation to the curious world, though ſome families ſhould miſs imaginary anceſtors.

On the death of the queen, More follow-

* In king Charles's collection was a miniature in oil of this queen by Antonio More, painted on a round gold plate, in blue flowered velvet and gold tiſſue with ſleeves of fur, two red roſes and a pair of gloves in her hand; the very ſame dreſs of her picture at the duke of Bedford's at Woburn. The miniature was a preſent to the king from the earl of Suffolk.

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ed Philip [and probably his religion *] into Spain, where he was indulged in ſo much familiarity, that one day the king ſlapping him pretty roughly on the ſhoulder, More returned the ſport with his handſtick: A ſtrange liberty to be taken with a Spaniſh monarch, and with ſuch a monarch! His biographer gives but an aukward account of the ſequel; and I repeat it as I find it. A grandee interpoſed for his pardon, and he was permitted to retire to the Netherlands, but under promiſe of returning again to Spain. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe that he was promiſed to have leave to return thither, after a temporary baniſhment; and this ſuppoſition is the more likely, as Philip, for once forgetting majeſty in his love of the arts, diſpatched a meſſenger to recall him, before he had finiſhed his journey. But the painter ſenſible of the danger he had eſcaped,

* He was ſuſpected by the inquiſition of making uſe of his intereſt with the king in favour of his countrymen, ſays Sandrart. This might be meant either of their religious or political principles. But ſure the inquiſitors knew Philip too well to be apprehenſive of his liſtening to any inſinuations of tenderneſs on either head.

modeſtly excuſed himſelf: and yet, ſays the ſtory, the king beſtowed noble preſents and places on his children. At Utrecht Antonio found the duke of Alva, and was employed by him to draw ſeveral of his miſtreſſes, and was made receiver of the revenues of Weſt-Flanders; a preferment, with which, they ſay, he was ſo elated, that he burned his eaſel, and gave away his painting tools.

More was a man of a ſtately and handſome preſence; and often went to Bruſſels, where he lived magnificently. He died at Antwerp in 1575 in the 56th year of his age.

His portrait, painted by himſelf, is in the chamber of painters at Florence, with which the great duke, who bought it, was ſo pleaſed, that he ordered a cartel with ſome Greek verſes, written by Antonio Maria Salvini, his Greek profeſſor, to be affixed to the frame. Salvini tranſlated them into Italian and into the following Latin,

Papae! eſt imago cujus,
Qui Zeuxin atque Apellem,
Veterumque quot fuere,
Recentiumque quot ſunt,
Genus arte vicit omnes!
Viden' ut ſuam ipſe pinxit

Propriâ

Propriâ manu figuram;
Chalybis quidem nitenti
Speculo ſe ipſe cernens.
Manus O! potens magiſtri!
Nam pſeudo-morus iſte
Fors, Mose, vel loquetur.

Another picture of himſelf, and one of his wife, were in the collection of Sir Peter Lely. More's was three feet eight inches high, by two feet nine wide. King Charles had five pictures painted by this maſter; and the duke of Buckingham had a portrait of a man by him. See his catalogue p. 18. A print of him in profile was publiſhed by Hondius, and a medal ſtruck of him in Italy with this legend, Ant. More, pictor tranſmontanus. At what time or where he was knighted is uncertain. He painted his maſter John Schorel in 1560. Several of his works are or were at Sir Philip Sydenham's at Brympton in Somerſetſhire. A very good portrait of Sir Thomas Greſham is at Houghton. I have a miniature by him, called Thomas duke of Norfolk, engraved among the illuſtrious heads: it belonged to Richardſon the painter, and came out of the Arundelian collection; and a half length of a lady in black with a gold chain about her waiſt, which is mentioned in the catalogue

of pictures of James II. and by that of Charles I. appears * to be Margaret of Valois, ſiſter of Henry II. of France, and ducheſs of Savoy, at the tournament for whoſe wedding that monarch was killed. Lady Elizabeth Germayn has the portrait of Anne daughter of Francis earl of Bedford and wife of Ambroſe earl of Warwick.

At Newſtede abbey in Nottinghamſhire, the beautifull ſeat of the lord Byron, where are the moſt perfect remains of an ancient convent, is an admirable portrait, painted as I believe by this maſter, and worthy of Holbein. It is a half length of a fat man with a beard, on a light greeniſh ground. His arms are, three roſes, the middle one higheſt, on a field argent; in baſe, ſomething like a green hill: Theſe arms are repeated on his ring, and over them, J. N. aet. 1557. As this bearing is evidently foreign, I ſuppoſe the portrait repreſents one of the family of Numigen. Nicholas Byron married Sophia, daughter of Lambert Charles of Numigen. †

But More did not always confine himſelf to portraits. He painted ſeveral hiſtoric pieces, particularly one much eſteemed of

* See p. 108. N° 7.

† Thoroton's Nottinghamſhire, p. 461.

the

the reſurrection of Chriſt with two angels; and another of Peter and Paul. A painter, who afterwards ſold it to the prince of Condè, got a great deal of money by ſhowing it at the foire St. Germain.

He made a fine copy of Titian's Danae for the king; and left unfiniſhed the Circumciſion, deſigned for the altar in the church of our Lady at Antwerp.

In the catalogue of pictures at the palais roial is a portrait ſaid to be of Grotius by Antonio More, who was dead above twenty years before Grotius was born.

Another performer in this reign was

JOAS VAN CLEEVE,

Or Sotto Cleefe, an induſtrious painter of Antwerp: his colouring was good, and his figures fleſhy and round; but before he arrived at the perfection he might have attained, his head was turned with vanity; a misfortune not uncommon to the profeſſion, who living ſecluded from the world and ſeeing little but their own creation riſing around them, grow intoxicated with the magic of their own performances. Cleeve came to England, expecting great prices for his pictures from king Philip, who was

making a collection, but unluckily, ſome of the works of Titian arrived at the ſame time. Cleeve begged the recommendation of Sir Antonio More, his countryman; but Philip was too much charmed with the beauties of the Venetian maſter, and overlooked the labours of the Fleming. This neglect compleated his frenzy, the ſtorm of which firſt vented itſelf on Sir Antonio. Cleeve abuſed him, undervaluing his works, and bidding him return to Utrecht and keep his wife from the canons. At laſt the poor man grew quite frantic, painted his own cloaths, and ſpoiled his own pictures, 'till they were obliged to confine him, in which wretched condition he probably died. He had a ſon that followed his profeſſion, and was, it is ſaid, no deſpicable performer.

Of Joas there is a print with with legend, vivebat Antwerpiae in patriâ 1544. Another inſcribed, Juſto Clivenſi, Antwerpiano pictori. The original painted by himſelf with a black cap and furred gown, upon a greeniſh ground, and a portrait of his wife, were purchaſed by King Charles I. * who

* See his catal. p. 153. Cleeve's portrait is ſtill in the lower apartment at Kenſington.

had

had alſo of this maſter a picture of Mars and Venus. *

James II. had of his painting, the Judgment of Paris, † and the birth of Chriſt with angels. ‡ The duke of Buckingham had a portrait of a man, and Sir Peter Lely a bacchanalian two feet one inch wide, by three feet four inches high.

Vertue found grants in this reign to another painter, who, it ſeems, had been in the ſervice too of Henry and Edward. His name was *Nicholas Lyſard*; he had a penſion for life of ten pounds a year, and the ſame fee charged on the cuſtoms, as had been granted to the ſerjeant-painters John Brown and Andrew Wright — Of Lyſard I find no farther mention, but that in a roll of queen Elizabeth's new-years gifts he preſents her with a table painted of the hiſtory of Ahaſuerus, and her majeſty gives him one gilt creuſe and cover. This was in the firſt year of her reign. He died in her ſervice 1570. In the regiſter of St. Martin's is this entry, "April 5, buried Nicholas Lyzard ſerjeant-painter unto the queen's majeſtie."

* Mentioned in a MS. catalogue.

† See his cat. N° 540, and 830.

‡ See his catal. p. 18.

There

There was in this reign another perſon too illuſtrious a lover and even practicer of the art to be omitted, though I find no mention of him in Vertue's MSS. This was

EDWARD COURTENEY,

The laſt earl of Devonſhire,

The comelineſs of whoſe perſon was very near raiſing him to that throne, for nearneſs to which in blood, he was a priſoner from ten years old; and from that time to thirty when he died, he ſcarce enjoyed two years of liberty. It was a happineſs peculiar to him to be able to amuſe himſelf with drawing, † in an age in which there were

* When queen Mary releaſed him, ſhe reſtored him too to the Marquiſate of Exeter, though that title is omitted by all our hiſtorians when they mention him.

† My authority is Strype, who produces undoubted authority for his aſſertion, having given us the oration pronounced at his funeral by Sir Thomas Wilſon, afterwards Secretary of State. Beſides his progreſs in philoſophy, mathematics, muſic, and the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages, Sir Thomas adds, "Tantam expingendarum effigierum cupiditate ardebat, ut facile et laudabiliter cujuſcumque imaginem in tabula exprimeret." See Strype's memorials vol. iii. p. 339, and appendix p. 192.

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ſo many priſoners and ſo few reſources; and it gives one very favorable ideas of his being naturally accompliſhed, of a ſpirit not eaſily to be depreſſed, when we find that queen Mary no ſooner delivered him from his captivity than ſhe wiſhed to marry him, and that he, conſcious of his great blood and yet void of intereſted ambition, declined a crown, and preferred the younger ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth. For this partiality, and on the riſing of the Carews in Devonſhire who were flattered with the hopes of this match, the princeſs and he were committed to the tower, and accuſed by Wyat as his accomplices. Our hiſtorians * all reject this accuſation, and declare that Wyat cleared him at his death; and indeed the earl's gratitude would not have been very ſhining, had he plotted to dethrone a princeſs who had delivered him from a priſon and offered him a throne. The Engliſh, who could not avoid feeling partiality to this young prince, were pleaſed with king Philip, to whoſe interceſſion they aſcribed the ſecond releaſe of the earl, as well as the ſafety of the lady Elizabeth. Courte-

* See Holinſhead, Heylin, and Burnet.

ney

ney aſked leave to travel, and died at Padua, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, which ſeems more probable than thoſe rumours generally are, as he was ſuſpected of being a Lutheran and as his epitaph, * written in [illegible]ce of the Spaniards, formally declares that he [illegible] his death to affecting the kingdom, aſcribed to his ambition of marrying the queen; the laſt of which aſſertions at leaſt is a falſhood, and might be a blunder, confounding the queen and princeſs. After his death one Cleybery was executed for pretending to be this earl, and thence endeavouring to raiſe commotions.

There is a very good portrait of him at the duke of Bedford's at Woburn, painted, I ſhould think, by Sir Antonio More; on the back ground, a ruined tower.

* See it at length in the genealogical hiſtory of the noble houſe of Courtenay by Edward Cleaveland, fol. 1735, p. 261.

CHAP. VII.

Painters in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

THE long and remarkable reign of this Princeſs could not but furniſh many opportunities to artiſts of ſignalizing themſelves. There is no evidence that Elizabeth had much taſte for painting; but ſhe loved pictures of herſelf. In them ſhe could appear really handſome; and yet to do the profeſſion juſtice, they ſeem to have flattered her the leaſt of all her dependents: There is not a ſingle portrait of her that one can call beautifull. The profuſion of ornaments with which they are loaded, are marks of her continual fondneſs for dreſs, while they entirely exclude all grace, and leave no more room for a painter's genius than if he had been employed to copy an Indian idol, totally compoſed of hands and necklaces. A pale Roman noſe, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds,

diamonds, a vaſt ruff, a vaſter fardingale and a buſhell of pearls are the features by which every body knows at once the pictures of queen Elizabeth. * Beſides many of

* It is obſervable that her majeſty thought enormity of dreſs a royal perogative, for on the 12th of February 1579, an order was made in the Star-chamber, "that no perſon ſhould uſe or wear exceſſive long cloaks, (this might proceed from apprehenſion of their concealing arms under them) as of late be uſed, and before two years paſt hath not been uſed in this realm; no perſons to wear ſuch great ruffes about their necks; to be left off ſuch monſtrous undecent attyring." Alſo another againſt wearing any ſword rapier, that ſhall paſſe the length of one yard and half a quarter in the blade, nor dagger above twelve inches in the blade at moſt. In her father's time, who dictated in every thing from religion to faſhions, an act of parliament was paſſed in his twenty-fourth year againſt inordinate uſe of apparel directing that no one ſhould wear on his apparel any cloth of gold, ſilver or tinſel, ſatyn, ſilk, or cloth mixed with gold or ſilver, any ſables, velvet, furrs, embroidery, velvet in gowns or outermoſt garments, EXCEPT PERSONS OF DISTINCTION, dukes, marquiſſes, earls, barons and knights of the order, barons' ſons, knights or ſuch that may diſpend 250 *l.* per ann. This act was renewed in the ſecond of Elizabeth. Edward VI. carried this reſtraint ſtill farther: In heads of a bill drawn up with his own hand 1551, (though it never paſſed into a law) no one, who had leſs than 100 *l.* a year for life, or gentlemen, the king's ſworn ſervants, was to wear ſatten, damaſk,

of her majeſty, we are ſo lucky as to poſſeſs the portraits of almoſt all the great men of her reign, and though the generality of painters at that time were not equal to the ſubjects on which they were employed, yet they were cloſe imitators of nature, and have perhaps tranſmitted more faithfull repreſentations, than we could have expected from men of brighter imagination. The firſt painter who ſeems to have made any figure in this reign, was

LUCAS DE HEERE,

Born at Ghent in 1534, of a family peculiarly addicted to the arts. John his father was a good ſtatuary and architect: Anne Smitter his mother painted in miniature, and with ſuch diminutive neatneſs, that ſhe executed a landſcape with a windmill, millers, a cart and horſe and paſſengers; and half a grain of corn would cover the whole compoſition. The father went

damaſk, oſtrich-feathers, or furs of conies; none not worth 200*l.* or 20*l.* in living certain, to wear chamblet: no ſerving-man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear any fur, ſave lamb; nor cloth above ten ſhillings the yard.

often

often to Namur and Dinant, where she copied ruins and caſtles; but he ſoon learned of a better maſter, Francis Floris, under whom Lucas improved much, and drew many deſigns (which paſſed for his maſter's) for tapeſtry and glaſs-painters. From Ghent he went to France and was employed by the queen and queen-mother in making drawings for tapeſtry, and reſiding ſome time at Fontainebleau, where he married Eleanor Carboniere, he contracted a taſte for the antique by ſeeing the ſtatues there, an inclination he ſhowed leſs by his own works, than by making a collection of bronzes and medals. He returned to Ghent, where he drew the Count de Vaken, his lady and their jeſter, and painted two or three churches; in St. Peter's, the ſhutters of an altar-piece, in which he repreſented the Lord's Supper, much admired for the draperies of the apoſtles. In St. John's church he painted an altar-piece of the Reſurrection, and on the doors of it, Chriſt and the diſciples at Emaus, and his appariſion in the garden.

Lucas was not only a painter, but a poet. He wrote the Orchard of Poeſie; and tranſlated

lated from the French of Marot, the Temple of Cupid and other pieces. He had begun the lives of the Flemiſh painters in verſe. Carl Vermander his ſcholar, who has given the lives of thoſe maſters, learned many anecdotes of our Engliſh painters from Lucas.

At what time the latter arrived in England is not certain: nor were his works at all known here, 'till the indefatigable induſtry of Mr. Vertue diſcovered ſeveral of them.

1. The firſt of theſe was a portrait of Sir William Sidney, grandfather of Sir Philip; but as Sir William died in 1553 at the age of 72, when Lucas de Heere was but nineteen, it is not probable that Sir William was abroad after that young man was in repute enough to draw his picture; and it is leſs probable that he had been in France, had married and arrived here by the age of nineteen. This picture which Vertue found at Penſhurſt, was in all likelyhood a copy.

2. The next was a portrait of Henry lord Maltravers eldeſt ſon of Henry Fitzalan earl of Arundel, dated 1557, the year before the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth; but as

this young lord died at Bruſſels, it is probable that De Heere drew his picture there, and that very acquaintance might have been a recommendation of Lucas to England.

3. The third is a picture in my poſſeſſion, well known by the print Vertue made from it. It contains the portraits of Frances duchess of Suffolk, mother of lady Jane Grey, and her ſecond huſband Adrian Stoke. Their ages, and De Heere's mark HE are on the picture, which is in perfect preſervation, the colouring of the heads clear, and with great nature, and the draperies which are black with furs and jewels, highly finiſhed and round, though the manner of the whole is a little ſtiff. This picture was in the collection of lord Oxford. There is a tradition that when this great lady made this ſecond match with a young fellow who was only maſter of her horſe, queen Elizabeth ſaid, "What! has ſhe married her horſe-keeper? Yes, madam, replied my lord Burleigh, and ſhe ſays your majeſty would like to do ſo too."—Leiceſter was maſter of the horſe. The date on this picture is 1559.

4. Lord Darnley, huſband of Mary queen of

of Scots, and his brother Charles Stuart, a boy, afterwards father of the lady Arabella. There are two of theſe; one as large as life, in the room going into the king's cloſet at St. James's; the other ſmall and neatly finiſhed in the private apartments below ſtairs at Hampton-court. The date 1569.

5. The next is a very remarkable picture on board at Kenſington: Queen Elizabeth richly dreſt, with her crown, ſcepter, and globe, is coming out of a palace with two female attendants. Juno, Pallas, and Minerva ſeem flying before her; Juno drops her ſcepter, and Venus her roſes; Cupid flings away his bow and arrows, and clings to his mother. On the old frame remain theſe lines, probably written by the painter himſelf, who, we have ſeen, dabled in poetry too;

Juno potens ſceptris, et mentis acumine Pallas,
Et roſeo Veneris fulget in ore decor;
Adfuit Elizabeth; Juno perculſa refugit;
Obſtupuit Pallas, erubuitque Venus.

To have compleated the flattery, he ſhould have made Juno or Venus reſemble the queen of Scots, and not ſo handſome

as Elizabeth, who would not have bluſhed like the laſt goddeſs. *

* Another curious picture painted about the ſame time, I know not by what hand, was in the collection of James Weſt, Eſq. It repreſents Henry VIII. ſitting under a canopy ſupported by pillars and delivering the ſword to prince Edward. On the right hand of the king ſtand Philip and Mary; Mars is coming in behind them. Queen Elizabeth, too large in proportion to the reſt, ſtands foreward on the other ſide, and leads Peace and Plenty, whoſe faces are ſaid to be portraits of the counteſſes of Shrewſbury and Saliſbury; but the latter muſt be a miſtake in the tradition, for there was no counteſs of Saliſbury at that time. Lady Shrewſbury I ſuppoſe was the famous Elizabeth of Hardwicke. Circumſcribed in golden letters on the frame are theſe lines, extremely in the ſtyle of the queen's own compoſitions;

A face of much nobility lo! in a little room,
Four States with their conditions here ſhadow'd in a ſhow;
A father more than valiant, a rare and virtuous ſon;
A daughter zealous in her kind, what elſe the world doth know,
And laſt of all a virgin queen to England's joy we ſee
Succeſſively to hold the right and virtues of the three.

And in ſmall letters on the fore-ground at bottom, theſe,

The queen to Walſingham this table ſent,
Mark of her people's and her own content.

This picture was brought from Chiſlehurſt, whither it had been carried from Scadbury, the ſeats of the Walſinghams, and is now at Strawberry-hill.

6. There

6. There is a ſmall whole length of queen Elizabeth by De Heere at Welbec: on the back ground, a view of the old fabric at Wanſtead.

7. At lord Dacre's at Belhouſe in Eſſex is one of the beſt works of this maſter; it always paſſed for Holbein's, but Vertue diſcovered it to be of De Heere, whoſe mark is ſtill diſcernible. It is the portrait of Mary Neville daughter of George lord Abergavenny, and widow of Thomas Fienes lord Dacre, executed for an accidental murder in the reign of Henry VIII. a picture of her huſband, aet. 22, 1549, copied from a larger piece, is repreſented as hanging in the room by his wife. Her head is finely coloured.

8. The picture from whence Vertue engraved his lady Jane Grey, he thought, was drawn too by Lucas; but that is liable to the ſame objection as his painting Sir William Sidney.

Since the firſt edition of this work, I have diſcovered another conſiderable work of this maſter; it is at Longleate, and repreſents a whole family. The figures are leſs than life, and about half lengths. An elderly gentle-

man is at table with his wife, and another lady, probably from the reſemblance, her ſiſter. The firſt lady has tags of a particular form, exactly like thoſe on the dreſs of my ducheſs of Suffolk, as is the colouring, though not ſo highly finiſhed; yet the heads have great nature. Before them are ſeven young children, their ages marked, which ſhow that three of them were born at a birth. They are playing with fruit, and by them are a parrot and a monkey: but the animals and fruit are much inferior to the figures. There are ſome Latin verſes in commendation of the gentleman, whoſe name or title was *Cobham*. I ſuppoſe Sir George Brooke lord Cobham, who died in the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, leaving eight ſons and two daughters. He had been committed to the tower by queen Mary, as privy to Wyat's rebellion. I have likewiſe found two more pieces of this maſter at Drayton, the ancient caſtle-like manſion of the Mordaunts, now of the lady Elizabeth Germain. One is a half length of Margaret Audley ſecond wife of Thomas duke of Norfolk beheaded temp. Eliz. Her arms and titles are on the back ground: but the picture has ſuffered. The other,

other, of the ſame ſize, is of a young nobleman, in a white ſtiff-bodied habit, black cloak and hat; he is very ſwarthy but handſome. His age 22, 1563. This piece is finely preſerved and ſtrongly coloured. In the life of Holbein I have mentioned the Henry VIII. at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, with De Heere's mark. The face has been repainted, but the reſt of the body is highly finiſhed, and does great honour to the copyiſt.

In 1570 Lucas was employed to paint a gallery for Edward earl of Lincoln, the lord high admiral. * He was to repreſent the habits of different nations. When he came to the Engliſh, he painted a naked man with cloth of different ſorts lying by him,

* At the duke of Bedford's at Wobourn are two heads of a counteſs of Lincoln and of lady Anne Ayſcough, daughter of the earl. As they are evidently painted at the ſame time, and as the daughter appears the elder perſon, there is great reaſon to believe that the counteſs was only the mother-in-law, and conſequently that this portrait repreſents the fair Geraldine, ſo much celebrated by the earl of Surrey. Her chief beauty ſeems to have been her golden hair. Theſe pictures, I ſhould think, were painted by the following maſter, Ketel, rather than by Lucas de Heere.

and a pair of ſheers, as a ſatire on our fickleneſs in faſhions. This thought was borrowed from Andrew Borde, who in his introduction to knowledge, to the firſt chapter prefixed a naked Engliſhman, with theſe lines,

I am an Engliſhman, and naked I ſtand here,
Muſing in my mind what rayment I ſhall wear.*

Lucas

* It is not extraordinary that this witticiſm ſhould have been adopted into the lord admiral's gallery. Andrew Borde, or Andreas Perforatus, as he called himſelf, was an admired wit in the latter end of Henry VIII. to whom he was ſome time phyſician. He had been a Carthuſian, then rambled over many parts of the world, turned phyſician, and at laſt wrote againſt the marriage of prieſts; for which I conclude (though Antony Wood could not gueſs the reaſon) he was ſhut up in priſon, where ſome ſaid he poiſoned himſelf. He wrote The Introduction to knowledge, partly in verſe and partly in proſe, and dedicated it to the lady Mary, afterwards queen. There are cuts before every chapter. Before the ſeventh is his own picture, ſtanding in a pew with a canopy over him, a gown with wide ſleeves and a chaplet of laurel. The title of the chapter is, "The ſeventh chapter ſhoweth how the author of this boke had dwelt in Scotland, and did go thorow and round about Chriſtendom, and out of Chriſtendom, declaring the properties of all the regions, countries and provinces, the which he did travel thorow." He wrote beſides, The Breviary of Health; a Dietary of Health;

The

Lucas de Heere returned to his own country before his death, which happened at Ghent in 1584. His mark, as above, is on moſt of his pictures. He uſed for an anagram theſe words, Schade leer u, which Sandrart ſays ſignify, Nocumenta tibi ſint documenta.

CORNELIUS KETEL *

Was born at Gouda in 1548, and early proſecuted his art with great ardour, under the direction of his uncle, a tolerable painter and a better ſcholar. At eighteen he went to Delft, and placed himſelf with Antony Blockland, with whom he remained a year. From thence he travelled to Fontainbleau, where he worked with great applauſe, in competition with three of his countrymen;

The merry tales of the mad men of Gotham; a book extremely admired and often reprinted in that age. A right pleaſant and merry hiſtory of the mylner of Abingdon, with his wife and his fair daughter, and of two poor ſcholars of Cambridge; and other things which may be ſeen in Antony Wood, vol. i. p. 75.

* See Sandrart 272. and Carl. Vermander, from whence Vertue collected moſt of the particulars of Ketel's life; and Deſcamps who copied Vermander. p. 69.

but

but the court coming to Fontainbleau, they were ordered to leave the palace; Ketel went to Paris and lodged with John de la Hame, the king's enameller, where he painted ſome hiſtories; but an edict obliging the ſubjects of the king of Spain to quit France, Ketel returned to Gouda and remained there ſix years. The troubles in his own country continuing, and conſequently little encouragement being given to the arts, Ketel embarked in 1573 for England, and was entertained at London by a ſculptor and architect there, a friend of his uncle. Here he married a Dutch woman, and his works growing into eſteem, he was much employed by the merchants in painting portraits, but was ſeldom engaged on hiſtory, to which his inclination chiefly led him. However, having painted an allegoric piece of Strength vanquiſhed by Wiſdom, it was purchaſed by a young merchant, and preſented to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, afterwards lord chancellor. This incident introduced Ketel to court; he drew a good whole length of Sir Chriſtopher, now at the earl of Litchfield's at Ditchley; the portrait of Edward Vere earl of Oxford, of William Herbert earl of Pembroke;

Pembroke; of the lord admiral Lincoln, now at Woburn, and of Henry Fitzalan earl of Arundel; and of ſeveral others. At laſt, in 1578, he had the honour of painting the queen herſelf, at the requeſt of the † counteſs of Hertford; Elizabeth being then entertained at Hanworth by the famous Anne Stanhope, widow of the protector, and mother of the earl of Hertford, then very aged. ‡

Ketel left England in 1581, and ſettled at Amſterdam, where he painted a large picture of the trained bands with their portraits, and their captain Herman Rodenburgh Beths at their head. In this picture too he introduced his own portrait. The diſpoſition, reſemblances, and the different ſtuffs of the habits, well imitated, were much admired in this piece. It was placed in the gallery of the Mall at Amſterdam. In 1589 he undertook another picture of the ſame ſort for the company of St. Sebaſtian, in which was the portrait of their captain

† This I ſuppoſe was Frances Howard, ſecond wife of the earl, and ſiſter of the lord admiral Nottingham, a fa[illegible]. The earl of Hertford had been in diſgrace for his firſt marriage with the lady Catherine Grey.

‡ The ducheſs died nine years afterwards, at the age of ninety.

Didier

Didier Roſencraus. It was reckoned not inferior to the former, and was neither confuſed nor unanimated, notwithſtanding the number of portraits it contained.

In another of his works, under the figures of Chriſt and the apoſtles, he repreſented Henry Keyſer an architect of Amſterdam, and the principal virtuoſos of that city. His beſt picture was the portrait of Simon Lack of that city; it was in the poſſeſſion of one of the ſame family at the Hague. Many of his works were carried to Dantzick.

In the duke of Buckingham's collection was a large picture by this maſter, repreſenting the Virtues and Vices. See his catal. p. 19.

But Ketel, not content with the glory he acquired by theſe performances, inſtead of aiming at greater perfection, took it into his head to make himſelf known by a method of painting entirely new. He laid aſide his bruſhes, and painted only with his fingers, * beginning with his own portrait.

* Deſcamps mentions a fine picture painted by Waenix in the ſame manner. Vol. ii. p. 310. And in a ſale of pictures in Covent-garden 1729, were two heads painted by one Brandell with his thumb.

The

The whim took; he repeated the practice, and they pretend, executed thoſe fantaſtic works with great purity and beauty of colouring. In this manner he painted two heads for the Sieur Van Os of Amſterdam; the firſt, a Democritus, was his own portrait; the other, of M. Moroſini, in the character of Heraclitus. The duc de Nemours, who was a performer himſelf, was charmed with the latter and bought it. Another, was the picture of Vincent Jacobſon, a noted Wine-merchant of Amſterdam, with a glaſs of reniſh in his hand. As his ſucceſs increaſed, ſo did his folly; his fingers appeared too eaſy tools; he undertook to paint with his feet, and his firſt eſſay he pretended to make in public on a picture of the God of Silence. That public, wh[o] began to think like Ketel, that the more painter was a mountebank, the greater was his merit, were ſo good as to applaud even this caprice.

Ketel, like De Heere, was a poet too, and wrote deſcriptions of ſeveral of his own works in verſe. He underſtood architecture, geometry and perſpective, and modelled in clay and wax. He was living

in

in 1600, when Vermander wrote his account of him. Sandrart who makes him travel to Venice and Rome, and die young, while he was employed on a picture of the king of Denmark, has confounded the maſter with the ſcholar; the latter incidents relate to Iſaac Oteryn of Copenhagen, Ketel's only diſciple.

Vermander dedicated to Ketel a diſſertation on the ſtatues of the ancients, in which he mentions the great friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between them for thirty years.

Vertue obſerved on the works of De Heere and Ketel, that thoſe of the former are generally ſmaller than the life, neater, not ſo ſtrongly coloured, and moſt commonly painted on board. Thoſe of Ketel, more ſtrongly coloured and with a fuller pencil, and always as large or rather larger than nature.

The next on our liſt is a name of more note, celebrated even in the liſts of the great Italian maſters: this was

FREDERIC ZUCCHERO, *

The younger brother of Taddeo, and born

* See Sandrart, Felibien, and Baglione.

like

like him, at Vado in the duchy of Urbino, in the year 1550. Frederic was carried by his parents to Rome, where their elder ſon was then employed: the younger improved ſo much in the ſpace of ſix years, that without his brother's aſſiſtance he painted a picture of Helicon and the Muſes for a Roman nobleman; and executed greateſt part of a chapel in which his brother was engaged. They worked for ſome time in concert; and being at Florence painted in four days, the whole hiſtory of the Paſſion which was beſpoken in a hurry for the decoration of a church on Eaſter ſunday. Taddeo dying at the age of thirty-ſeven, Frederic finiſhed his imperfect works, among which were the paintings at the magnificent palace then lately built at Caprarola by cardinal Farneſe. His picture in diſtemper of Calumny, borrowed from the deſcription of one painted by Apelles, was ſuppoſed a tacit ſatire on that cardinal, with whom he had quarrelled on ſome deficience of payment. Zucchero's temper ſeems by another inſtance to have been pretty ſtrongly tinctured with reſentment; while he was employed by Gregory XIII. to paint the Pauline chapel in the

the vatican, he fell out with ſome of his holineſs's officers. To be revenged, he painted their portraits with ears of aſſes, and expoſed the picture publickly over the gate of St. Luke's church, on the feſtival of that ſaint, the patroſt of painters. * But for this exploit he was forced to fly from Rome; and paſſing into France, he was for ſome time employed in the ſervice of the cardinal of Lorrain. Thence he went into Flanders, and made cartoons for tapeſtry; and in the year 1574 arrived in England. The queen ſat to him for her picture; ſo did the queen of Scots, for that well-known portrait at Chiſwick, which has been engraved by Vertue. Another picture of Elizabeth, in a fantaſtic habit, ſomething like a Perſian, is in the gallery of royal perſonages at Kenſington. Melville mentions her having and wearing dreſſes of every country: in this picture too appears her romantic turn; ſhe is drawn in a foreſt, a

* Verrio quarrelling with Mrs. Marriot the houſekeeper at Windſor, drew her picture for one of the furies. This was to gratify his own paſſion; to flatter that of the court, he has repreſented lord Shaftſbury among the Demons of faction, in St. George's hall.

ſtag

ſtag behind her, and on a tree are inſcribed theſe mottoes and verſes, which as we know not on what occaſion the piece was painted, are not eaſily to be interpreted;

Injuſti juſta querela.

a little lower,

Mea ſic mihi.

ſtill lower,

Dolor eſt medicina *ed tori.* (ſhould be, dolori.)

on a ſcroll at bottom,

The reſtleſs ſwallow fits my reſtleſſe mind,
In ſtill revivinge, ſtill renewinge wrongs;
Her juſte complaints of cruelty unkinde
Are all the muſique that my life prolonges.
With penſive thoughts my weeping ſtag I crown,
Whoſe melancholy teares my cares expreſſe;
(i) His teares in ſilence and my ſighes unknowne
Are all the phyſicke that my harmes redreſſe.
My onely hopes was in this goodly tree,
Which I did plant in love, bring up in care,
(too) But all in vaine, for now *to* late I ſee
(ſhells) The *ſhales* be mine, the kernels others are.
My muſique may be plaintes, my muſique teares,
If this be all the fruite my love-tree beares.

Tradition gives theſe lines to Spenſer; I think we may fairly acquit him of them, and conclude they are of her majeſty's own compoſition, as they much reſemble the

ſtyle of those in Hentznerus p. 66. of the Engliſh edition.

The portraits of Sir Nicholas Bacon at Woburn, of Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, at * Hampton-court, and of Sir Francis Walſingham, in my poſſeſſion, all three engraved among the illuſtrious heads; and the picture of queen Elizabeth's gigantic porter at Kenſington, were painted by Zucchero; here too he drew his own portrait, and copied the works of Holbein at the Steelyard as I have mentioned. A chapel at Roehampton belonging to Mr. Bagnols was ſaid to be painted by him. What other works he performed here I do not find; † probably not many; his ſtay was not long; hiſtoric ſubjects were

* There too by his hand was a picture of Venus paſſing ſentence on the boar that had killed Adonis. It was ſold for 25*l.* at the ſale of king Charles's collection.

† Vertue mentions a portrait of a marquis of Somerſet; but there was no ſuch perſon in that reign. At Wilton is a Nativity by Taddeo and Frederic, and two ſmall portraits of Francis II. and Charles IX. of France, but theſe were not painted in England. Mr. Pennant mentions a head of ſir Lionel Talmache by Zucchero. Tour to Scotl. vol. ii. p. 15.

not

not in faſhion, and he was offended at our religion. He returned to Italy, and finiſhed the dome at Florence begun by Vaſari. The Pope's anger too being vaniſhed, he was readmitted to his old employment at Rome, where he built a houſe for himſelf on the Monte di Trinita, adoroned with four portals, and painted on the outſide in freſco by his own hand. On the acceſſion of Sixtus V. Zucchero was invited to Spain by Philip II. to paint the Eſcurial, but his freſcos not pleaſing, he returned to Rome, and founded the academy of painting, for which Gregory XIII. had given him a brief, and of which he was elected the firſt prince. Theſe expences however drained him ſo much, that he again quitted Rome, and went to Venice ‡ to print ſome treatiſes that he had written on painting; and ſome poems too, for Zucchero was a poet like others of his profeſſion. From Venice he paſſed into Savoy, where he was favorably received by the duke for whom he began to paint a gallery. Returning, he viſited

‡ There he was competitor with Tintoret for painting the chapel of St. Roch. Catal. raiſonnè des tableaux du Roi, vol. ii. p. 70.

Loreto, and died at Ancona in 1616, aged 66, leaving the remains of his fortune to his academy.

MARC GARRARD ‡

The ſon of a painter of the ſame names, was born at Bruges in 1561, and practiſed hiſtory, landſcape, architecture and portrait. He engraved, illuminated, and deſigned for glaſs-painters. His etchings for Aeſop's fables and view of Bruges were much eſteemed. He came to England not long after the year 1580, and remained here 'till his death which did not happen 'till 1635, having been painter to queen Elizabeth and Anne of Denmark.

His works are very numerous, though not eaſily known, as he never uſed any peculiar mark. In general they are neat, the ruffs and habits ſtiff, and rich with pearls and other jewels. His fleſh-colours are

‡ His name is written Gerhardus, Guerards, and Garrard. Among the Sidney-papers at Penſhurſt was a letter from Sir Robert Sidney to his lady about 1597, deſiring her to go to Mr. Garrats, and pay him for the picture of her and the children, ſo long done and unpaid.

thin,

thin, and light, tending to a blueiſh tincture.

His proceſſion of queen Elizabeth to Hunſdon-houſe has been engraved and deſcribed by Vertue, who thought that part of the picture of Sir Thomas More's family at Burford might have been compleated by this painter.

Garrard drew a proceſſion of the queen and knights of the garter in 1584, from whence Aſhmole took his plate for the hiſtory of that order. The portraits, though ſmall, have great reſemblance, with that uncommon fidelity of repreſenting the air, ſtature and bulk of the perſons exhibited. Vertue made a copy of this roll in water-colours, which I bought at his ſale. It is not quite compleat, the original not having been entirely finiſhed.

Garrard painted both prince Henry and prince Charles. Some portraits of ladies by him are at lord Litchfield's at Ditchley. His own picture was engraved by Hollar.

An introduction to the general art of drawing, firſt ſet out by Marc Gerard of Bruges, was tranſlated and publiſhed in Engliſh, quarto, 1674.

HENRY CORNELIUS VROOM*

Was born in 1566 at Harlem, where his father was a ſtatuary, of whom and of his father in law, a painter of Florence, young Henry learned to draw. His inclination led him firſt to paint views of towns; in that purſuit he went to Rotterdam, and ſoon after on board a Spaniſh ſhip to St. Lucar, and thence to Seville, where he lived a ſhort time with a Dutch performer, a painter of monkeys, called by the Spaniards, a Pintemony: From thence to Florence and Rome, where he fixed for two years and was employed by Cardinal de' Medici, and became acquainted with Paul Brill. At Venice he ſtaid a year, and paſſing through Milan, Genoa, Turin and Paris, returned to Harlem, where he employed himſelf on devout ſubjects in little, and having ſtocked himſelf with a quantity, again ſet out for Spain, where he propoſed to ſell them, but was caſt away on a ſmall iſland near the coaſt of Portugal. He and ſome of the crew were relieved by monks that lived among the rocks, and

* See Sandrart 274 and Deſcamps 254.

conducted

conducted to Liſbon, where relating the danger he had eſcaped, a paltry painter there engaged Vroom to draw the ſtorm he deſcribed, in which he ſucceeded ſo happily, that it was ſold to a nobleman for a conſiderable price. The Portugueſe painter was charmed, and continued to employ Vroom, who improved ſo much in ſea-pieces, that having got money, and returning home, he applied himſelf entirely to that ſtyle of painting.

At this period, the great earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England, whoſe defeat of the Spaniſh Armada had eſtabliſhed the throne of his miſtreſs, being deſirous of preſerving the detail of that illuſtrious event, had beſpoken a ſuit of tapeſtry, deſcribing the particulars of each day's engagement. Francis Spiering, an eminent maker of tapeſtry, undertook the work, and engaged Vroom to draw the deſigns. The excellence of the performance, obvious to the public eye, makes encomiums unneceſſary.

It is pleaſingly remarkable that there are two monuments of this ſort, and both finely executed, the tapeſtry in queſtion and the

ſuit at Blenheim, monuments of two ſignal victories, acquired by ſea and land, under the auſpices of two queens of the ſame country, and both gained in defence of the liberties of nations, attacked by two of the moſt powerfull princes, Philip II. and Louis XIV.

Vroom received an hundred pieces of gold for his labour: The arras itſelf containing 708 ells Flemiſh, at 10*l.* 1*s.* per ell, coſt 1628*l.* which was paid by the crown to the earl in the 14th of king James —but it was during the Republic that this noble trophy was placed in a temple worthy of it. *

The painter came to England to receive inſtructions and execute his commiſſion; and contracting a friendſhip with Iſaac Oliver was drawn by him: There is a print from that picture.

He returned to his own country, and painted a large picture, which was much admired by prince Maurice, of the ſeventh day's action of the fight above-mentioned.

* See Journals of the Commons, January 1, 1650. The houſe of Lords was then uſed for committees of the Commons.

Vroom

Vroom died rich, in what year is not mentioned.

In the collection of king James II. were two ſea-pieces, and in that of Sir Peter Lely, a landſcape, both deſcribed to be of old Vroom, whence I ſuppoſe he had a ſon who followed his profeſſion, and his ſtyle too, as in the former catalogue is mentioned a ſea-piece with king Charles coming from Spain, ſaid to be by Vroom, without the adjunct of old. I find no other account of the ſon, nor of his being in England.

Theſe were the principal performers in oil in this reign: ſome of leſs note, and of whom but little is recorded, I ſhall mention at the end of this chapter; but firſt I ſhall treat of the painters in miniature. The name of

PETRUCCIO UBALDINI

occurs in ſeveral places. * He appears to have been an illuminator on vellom; ſome of his works in that kind are or were very lately extant: As the pſalms of David in folio: at the beginning the coat of arms

* Vertue ſays he taught the Italian language.

and

and ſupporters of a nobleman, and facing it, king David on his knees. At the end of the book this inſcription;

Petruccius Ubaldinus Florentinus Henrico comiti Arundeliae, Mæcenati ſuo, ſcribebat Londini M.D.LXV.

Another book of vellom, written and illuminated by the ſame perſon, containing the ſentences of ſcripture painted in the Lord Keeper's gallery at Gorhambury. * This book was made by order of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and by him preſented to the lady Lumley.

Another, containing various kinds of writing, chiefly in the Italian language, very neatly executed. This was in the Cotton library.

* This gallery and the inſcriptions are ſtill extant at the houſe, now lord Grimſton's near St. Alban's, where are ſeveral curious portraits, a large ſtatue of Henry VIII. in armour, buſts of Sir Nicholas Bacon and his lady, and of lord Bacon when a boy. This manſion was built by the Keeper, and much improved by Sir Francis Bacon, who added Italian porticos, and loggias, but artfully preſerved from being too diſſonant from the older parts of the building. It is a ſweet retirement, without oſtentation, and adapted to his motto, Mediocria firma. It was purchaſed by Sir Harbottle Grimſton, and much of the old furniture the purchaſers and preſent poſſeſſors have had the good taſte to preſerve.

There

There were beſides, in the king's library, (moſt of them now in the Muſeum) Scotiae deſcriptio à Deidonenſi quodam facto A. D. 1550. et per Petruccium Ubaldinum tranſcripta A. D. 1576. in charta, 13. A. viii.

Petruccio Ubaldino, un libro d'eſſemplari. carta. 14. A. i.

— — — un libro della forma et regola dell' eleggere e coronare gli imperadori. carta 14. A. viii.

— — — comentario del ſucceſſo dell' armata Spagnuola, &c. 14. A. x.

— — — dell' impreſa fatta contro il regno d'Inghilterra dal re Cattolico. &c. ſcritta da Petruccio Ubaldino cittadino Florentino, in Londra, il di 15 d' Aprile 1589. 14. A. xi.

Le vite et i fatti di ſei donne illuſtri. 14. A. xix. *

Another

* He publiſhed a book of this kind, intituled, Le Vite delle Donne illuſtri del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia, e di quelle, che d'altri paeſi nei due detti regni ſono ſtate maritate. Thin quarto, London, printed by John Wolf 159[illegible]. To give an idea of Petruccio's talents for hiſtory, it will ſuffice to produce two of his Heroines. The firſt was Chembrigia, daughter of Gurguntius, ſon of king Bellinus, who having married one Cantabro, founded a city, which from a

mixture

Another Italian book, preſented by Petruccio to the queen, is in the Bodleian library.

Petruccio ſeems to have been in favour at court; he is frequently mentioned in the rolls of new-years gifts, which uſed to be repoſited in the jewel-office, and in which the names of Hilliard, Oliver and Marc Garard do not appear.

In the 21ſt year of Elizabeth—

To Petruccio — v *l.*

He returns, a book of Italian, with pictures to the life, and metamorphoſis of Ovid.

Another in 1585, by Petruccio Ubaldini, a pedigree: To him, gilt plate five ounces.

In 1588, To Petruccio in gilt plate five ounces: He returned, a book covered with vellom, of Italian.

In one of theſe rolls Mr. Sidney (the

mixture of both their names was called Cambridge. The other *illuſtrious* lady he ſtyles expreſsly *Donna ſenza nome*. As the reader may be curious to know who this nameleſs yet illuſtrious lady, who deſerved to have her life written, was, It is the mother of Ferrex and [illegible]ex in lord Dorſet's Gorboduc, who becauſe one of her ſons killed the other, that was her favorite, killed a third ſon in a paſſion.

famous

famous Sir Philip) preſents the queen at new-year's tide with a whip ſet with jewels, and another time with a caſtle enriched with diamonds.

NICHOLAS HILLIARD

Limner, jeweller and goldſmith to queen Elizabeth and afterwards to king James, was ſon of Richard Hilliard of Exeter, high ſheriff of that city and county in the year 1560. Nicholas (I ſuppoſe a younger ſon) was born in 1547, and brought up to the buſineſs of a jeweller and goldſmith, to which his inclination ſoon added that of painting in miniature. The want of an able inſtructor directed him to ſtudy the works of Holbein, as he ſays in a MS. I ſhall mention; "Holbein's manner of limning I have ever imitated, and hold it for the beſt." But though Hilliard copied the neatneſs of his model, he was far from attaining that nature and force which that great maſter impreſſed on his moſt minute works. Hilliard arrived at no ſtrength of colouring; his faces are pale, and void of any variety of tints, the features, jewels and ornaments expreſſed by lines as ſlender as a hair. The exact dreſs

of

of the times he curiouſly delineated; but he ſeldom attempted beyond a head, yet his performances were greatly valued; Dr. Donne in his poem on the ſtorm in which the earl of Eſſex was ſurprized returning from the iſland voyage, ſays,

> ——————— a hand or eye
> By Hilliard drawn, is worth a hiſtory
> By a worſe painter made.

And Peacham on limning ſays, "comparing ancient and modern painters, brings the compariſon to our own time and country; nor muſt I be ungratefully unmindfull of my own countrymen, who have been and are able to equal the beſt if occaſion ſerved, as old Hilliard, Mr. Iſaac Oliver, inferior to none in Chriſtendome for the countenance in ſmall, &c." † Richard Heydock too of new college Oxon, in his tranſlation of Lomazzo on painting, publiſhed in 1598, ſays, "Limnings, much uſed in former times in church-books, as alſo in drawing by the life in ſmall models; of late years by ſome of our countrymen, as *Sheote*, *Betts*, &c.

* See an account of him in Wood's Athenae vol. ii. p. 296.

but

but brought to the rare perfection we now ſee, by the moſt ingenious, painfull and ſkilfull maſter, Nicholas Hilliard, and his well-profiting ſcholar, whoſe farther commendations I refer to the curioſity of his works."

The ſame author in another place mentioning "Mr. N. Hilliard ſo much admired by ſtrangers as well as natives," adds, "to ſpeak truth of his ingenious limnings, the perfection of painting (in them) is ſo extraordinary, that when I deviſed with myſelf the beſt argument to ſet it forth, I found none better than to perſuade him to do it himſelf to the view of all men by his pen, as he had before unto very many by his learned pencil, which in the end he aſſented to; and by me promiſeth a treatiſe of his own practice that way, with all convenient ſpeed." This tract Hilliard actually wrote but never publiſhed. Vertue met with a copy of it, which I have among his MSS. *

Blaiſe Vigenere mentions Hilliard and the neatneſs of his pencil very particularly; "Telle eſtoit auſſi l'ecriture et les traits

* An extract of it is in Brown's Ars pictoria p. 95. Lond. 1675, and ſome of his receipts in Sanderſon's Graphice.

d'un peintre Anglois nommè *Oeillarde*, d'autant plus à emerveiller, que cela ſe faiſoit avec un pinceau fait des poils de la queue d'un eſcureuil, qui ne reſiſte ni ne ſoutient pas comme feroit une plume de corbeau, qui eſt tres ferme."

Hilliard's portrait, done by himſelf at the age of thirteen, was in the cabinet of the earl of Oxford. He was ſtill young when he drew the queen of Scots. Queen Elizabeth ſat ſo him often. Charles I. had three of her portraits by him, one, a ſide face in the clouds, another, one of his moſt capital performances, a whole length of her in her robes ſitting on her throne. In the ſame collection were ſeveral more of his works, particularly a view of the Spaniſh Armada; and a curious jewel, containing the portraits of Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. and queen Mary; on the top was an enamelled repreſentation of the battle of Boſworth, and on the reverſe, the red and white roſes. This jewel was purchaſed by the king of Hilliard's ſon.

In the eſſay towards an Engliſh ſchool of painters, * it is ſaid that Mr. Fanſhaw had

* Printed in 1706 at the end of the tranſlation of De Piles Art of Painting. See p. 430.

the

the portraits of * Hilliard and his father, finely executed, with inſcriptions in gold letters; on the former

Nicolas Hilliardus, aurifaber, ſculptor et celebris illuminator ſereniſſimae reginae Elizabethae, anno 1577. aet. ſuae 30.

On the other,

Ricardus Hilliardus, quondam vicecomes civitatis et comitatus Exoniae, anno 1560, aetatis ſuae 58, annoque Domini 1577. *

Hilliard continued in vogue during this reign, and great numbers of portraits by his hand, eſpecially of ladies, are extant. He obtained ſtill greater favour from king James, drawing his majeſty's and prince Henry's pictures; and receiving a patent, printed by Rymer, to this effect,

Whereas our well-beloved ſervant Ni-

* Vertue ſays he ſaw them afterwards in the poſſeſſion of the laſt Sidney earl of Leiceſter, and that they were then taken out of the old frames, and ſet in a ſnuff-box. Mr. Simon Fanſhaw is in poſſeſſion of two ſuch heads, which have been thought the very pictures, and are undoubtedly of Hilliard's beſt manner, though one has no inſcription, and the other only the date of the year and the age. But lord Leiceſter gave the ſnuff-box in queſtion to marſhal Sir Robert Rich, in whoſe poſſeſſion it remains with the pictures. I have a duplicate of the father.

cholas Hilliard, gentleman, our principal drawer of ſmall portraits, and emboſſer of our medals in gold, in reſpect of his extraordinary ſkill in drawing, graving, and imprinting, &c. we have granted unto him our ſpecial licence for twelve years, to invent, make, grave and imprint any pictures of our image or our royal family, &c. and that no one do preſume to do, without his licence obtained, &c.

This grant was of great emolument to him, as about that time he engraved many ſmall plates and ſold licences for others, with the heads of the king and royal family, which were then and are ſtill uſed for counters. Simon Paſs and other engravers were employed by him in theſe works.

Hilliard died January 7, 1619, and was buried in St. Martin's church in the fields, Weſtminſter (as appears by the regiſter) in which pariſh he had a houſe. He made his will * in the preceding December, leaving twenty ſhillings to the poor of the pariſh; to his ſiſter Anne Avery twenty pounds of thirty † that were due of his

* From the regiſter in Doctors Commons.

† He had the ſame ſalary as Holbein.

penſion; the remaining ten pounds to his other ſiſter; ſome goods to his ſervant maid; and all the reſt of his effects, plate, jewels, rings, &c. to his ſon Laurence Hilliard, his ſole executor. But the greateſt obligation we have to Hilliard is his having contributed to form *

ISAAC OLIVER. †

Hitherto we have been obliged to owe to other countries the beſt performances exhibited here in painting. But in the branch (miniature) in which Oliver excelled, we may challenge any nation to ſhow a greater maſter, if perhaps we except a few of the ſmaller works of Holbein.

* John Betts, whom I have mentioned as painting the portrait of Sir John Godſalve, is ſaid by Vertue to have learned of Hilliard, and is called DESIGNER in Hall's chronicle about the year 1576, where too is mentioned one Tyrrel, a carver in wood.

† I muſt not diſguiſe, that, though Oliver was probably born in England, he was in all likelyhood of French extraction: In his will he ſpells his name Oliver, but on his drawings writes it Olivier. Vertue found mention of one "Aubin Olivier natif de Boiſy, inventeur des engins de monoyes a Moulins;" and in

bein. Don Julio Clovio, the celebrated limner, whoſe neatneſs and taſte in groteſque were exquiſite, cannot be compared with Iſaac Oliver, becauſe Clovio never painted portraits, and the latter little elſe. Petitot, whoſe enamels have exceeding merit, perhaps owed a little of the beauty of his works to the happy nature of the compoſition: "We ourſelves have nobody to put in competition with Oliver, except it be our own Cooper, who, though living in an age of freer pencil and under the auſpices of Vandyke, ſcarce compenſated by the boldneſs of his expreſſion, for the truth of nature and delicate fidelity of the older maſter. Oliver's ſon, Peter, alone approached to the perfection of his father.

Palmer's Hiſtory of Printing, p. 274, are accounts of Peter Olivier printer at Caen in Normandy 1515, and of Jean Olivier printer in the ſame city 1521. But Hondius, Sandrart, and all the writers who mention him, call him an Engliſhman, and it is an additional confirmation of his Engliſh birth, that he wrote in that language a treatiſe on limning, partly printed in Sanderſon's Graphice; in his pocket-book was a mixture of French and Engliſh. We have ſeen in the preceding life of Hilliard that Peacham calls Oliver his countryman.

Of

Of the family of Iſaac Oliver I find no certain account; nor is it of any importance; he was a genius; and they tranſmit more honour by blood than they can receive. After ſtudying under Hilliard, he had ſome inſtructions from Zucchero; Vertue even thought, from variety of his drawings after the great maſters, eſpecially Parmegiano, that he had been in Italy. For whatever elſe relates to him, let his works ſpeak.

Dr. Meade poſſeſſed ſome of the moſt capital; as Oliver's own portrait, extremely ſmall; the head of the queen of Scots, * an admirable piece, though very doubtfull whether of her; queen Elizabeth, profile; Henry prince of Wales, † Ben Johnſon; ‡ and the whole length of Sir Philip Sidney, ſitting under a tree. All theſe were purchaſed by the late prince of Wales. I have another portrait of Oliver himſelf, larger

* Zink made an exceedingly fine copy of this in enamel, purchaſed by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. It is engraved in Jebb's collections.

† There are one or two others of this prince by the ſame hand.

‡ It is engraved among the illuſtrious heads, but is very unlike the old pictures and prints of that poet.

than that of Dr. Meade's, and without a hat, bought at Mr. Barret's ſale. This picture alone would juſtify all I have ſaid of him. The art of the maſter and the imitation of nature are ſo great in it, that the largeſt magnifying glaſs only calls out new beauties. * But the firſt, at leaſt the beſt preſerved of all his works, is in my poſſeſſion; it is the head of lady Lucy Percy, *mother of* Venetia lady Digby. She is in black with a large hat of the ſame colour, and a very large ruff; the whole painted on a lilac ground. This was purchaſed, with many exquiſite pieces by his ſon Peter, under whoſe article I ſhall mention them.

At the lord Montacute's at Coudray is another invaluable work of Iſaac. It repreſents three brothers of that lord's family, whole lengths, in black: their ages twenty-one, twenty-four, and eighteen, with the painter's mark Φ. Theſe young gentlemen reſembled each other remarkably, a peculiarity obſervable in the picture, the motto on which is, Figurae conformis affec-

* Col. Sothby has another larger, and containing only the head, but bold, and admirably painted.

tus, 1598. * another perſon is coming into the room, aged twenty-one. The picture is ten inches by ſeven.

His painting of James I. ſerved Rubens and Vandyke, when they had occaſion to draw that prince after his deceaſe.

In an office-book of the lord Harrington treaſurer of the chambers, in the poſſeſſion of the late Dr. Rawlinſon, was an entry of payment to Iſaac Oliver picture-drawer, by a warrant dated at Lincoln April 4, 1617, for four ſeveral pictures drawn for the prince's highneſs as appeareth by a bill thereunto annexed, 40 *l.*

In king Charles's catalogue are accounts of ſeveral of his works: king James II. had ſtill more; the earl of Arundel many. He drew a whole length of Robert earl of Eſſex in white, and heads of him ſeveral times, and of many others of the nobility; but his works are much ſcarcer than thoſe of his maſter Hilliard.

Colonel Sothby has a fine Magdalen by him, and the ducheſs of Portland a head of Chriſt, that was Dr. Meade's.

* Vertue met with a print, from whence he ſuppoſed Oliver borrowed his deſign. It was inſcribed, Colignaei Fratres, Odetus, Gaſpar, Franciſcus.

Of his drawings ſeveral are extant, particularly a capital one in queen Caroline's cloſet at Kenſigton; the ſubject, the placing of Chriſt in the ſepulchre, conſiſting of twenty-ſix figures. * This piece which Iſaac had not compleated, was finiſhed by his ſon, and is dated 1616. Another, a large drawing, the murder of the Innocents, on blue paper heightened, after Raphael. Vertue ſaw a print of the hiſtory of St. Laurence touched and heightened by Oliver with great ſkill. Sir John Evelyn in 1734 ſhowed to the Society of Antiquaries † a drawing by Oliver from a picture of Raphael in the Eſcurial, of the Virgin, Child, and St. John; it was copied by Iſaac in 1631, while the original was in the collection of Charles I.

He did not always confine himſelf to water-colours. There are inſtances of his working in oil. In this manner he painted his own, his wife's, and the portraits of his children; a head of St. John Baptiſt on

* Mr. Hollis has a fine drawing of the ſame, inſcribed Iſa. Ollivier, which he bought at Vertue's ſale. It has been retouched in ſeveral places.

† V. Minutes of the Society, vol. i. p. 206.

board;

board; and the holy family. * Vertue commends theſe much; as I never ſaw them, I can give no other account of his ſucceſs in this way, than that the works I have ſeen in oil by him are but indifferent.

Iſaac Oliver died at his houſe in the Black-friars London, in 1617, aged ſixty-one or ſixty-two. He was buried in St. Anne's church in that pariſh, where his ſon erected a monument to his memory, with his buſt in marble †. By his will (in the Prerogative-office) proved in October, and executed in the preceding June, he bequeathed to his wife the third of his effects, and the leaſe of his houſe in Black-friars; excepting only to his eldeſt ſon

* Four heads on board in oil, by Oliver, are at lord Guildford's at Wroxton. Theſe Vertue owns have a little of the ſtiffneſs of miniature, though at the ſame time very neat. Lord Oxford had the famous ſeaman T. Cavendiſh and Sir Philip Sidney, by Oliver, in oil: the laſt is now lord Cheſterfield's: the former is at Welbeck. In a ſale of pictures brought from Ireland was a large oval head of Lucy Harrington counteſs of Bedford, and the marriage at Canaan, by Iſaac Oliver, and, I conclude, in oil.

† The monument and buſt were deſtroyed in the great fire in 1666, but a model of the latter is probably extant, Vertue having ſeen it.

Peter,

Peter, all his drawings, limnings, hiſtorical or otherwiſe, finiſhed, or unfiniſhed, of his own handy-works, or in caſe of Peter's death, to any of his other ſons that ſhould follow his profeſſion. All the other two parts of his effects, to be ſold and equally divided between his ſons and a daughter. His other paintings or collections to be ſold, allowing his ſon Peter to purchaſe whatever he pleaſed thereof at five ſhillings per pound leſs than the true or genuine value of them. His wife he left ſole executrix; his ſon Peter and two other gentlemen truſtees.

Hondius, in his collection of artiſts of that age, has given the portrait of Oliver, with theſe lines, which are poor enough,

Ad vivum laetos qui pingis imagine vultus,
Olivere, oculos mirifice hi capiunt.
Corpora quae formas juſto haec expreſſa colore,
Multum eſt, cum rebus convenit ipſe color.

Vertue found another in a MS. treatiſe on limning, the author unknown, but the epitaph which follows, was inſcribed, "On my dear couſin, Mr. Iſaac Oliver."

Qui vultus hominum, vagaſque formas
Brevi deſcribere doctus in tabellâ,

Qui

Qui mundum minimum typo minore
Solers cudere mortuaſque chartas
Felici vegetare novit arte,
Iſaacus jacet hic Olivarius,
Cujus vivificâ manu paratum eſt,
Ut nihil propè debeant Britanni
Urbino, Titianoque, Angeloque.

Beſides theſe principal, there were ſeveral other artiſts in this reign, of whom there are only ſlight memorials. I ſhall throw them together as I find them, without obſerving any particular method.*

* Vertue had ſeen on a large ſkin of vellom a plan of the town and boundaries of Dunwich in Suffolk, with it's churches, adjacent villages, &c. and ſeveral remarks, made by Radulphus Aggas in March 1589. Whether this perſon was a profeſſed painter does not appear; but from him was probably deſcended Robert Aggas, commonly called Augus, "who, ſays Graham in his Engliſh ſchool, p. 398, was a good landſcape-painter both in oil and in diſtemper, and was ſkillfull in architecture, in which he painted many ſcenes for the playhouſe in Covent-garden." Few of his works are extant; the beſt is a landſcape preſented by him to the company of painter-ſtainers and ſtill preſerved in their hall, with other works of profeſſors, whoſe dates I cannot aſſign. Robert Aggas died in London in 1679, aged about ſixty—but I know not what the author I quote means by a playhouſe in Covent-garden before the year 1679—I ſuppoſe it ſhould be the theatre in Dorſet-gardens.

At the duke of Bedford's at Woburn is a portrait of Elizabeth Bruges, daughter of the lord Chandois, with this inſcription, Hieronymus Cuſtodio, Antwerpienſis fecit 1589. The colouring is flat and chalky.

On the picture of the murder of the lord Darnley at Kenſington is the name of the painter, but ſo indiſtinct, that Vertue who engraved it, could not be ſure whether it was Levinus *Vogelarius* or Venetianus. As it is as little certain whether the picture was painted in England, Scotland, or abroad, no great ſtreſs can be laid on this painter, as one of queen Elizabeth's artiſts. Vertue thought he might be the ſame perſon with Levino, nephew of Pordenone, of whoſe hand king Charles had a picture.

At the ſame time reſided here one Le Moyne, called † Le Morgues, who is mentioned by Hackluyt in his tranſlation of Laudonniere's voyage to Florida, vol. iii. p. 300. "Divers things of chiefeſt importance at Florida drawn in colours at the charge of Sir Walter Raleigh by that ſkill-

† Indorum Floridam provinciam habitantium Icones primum ibidem ad vivum expreſſae a Jacopo Le Moyne cui nomen De Morgues 1591.

full

full painter James Morgues, ſome time living in the Blackfryars London, he whom monſieur Chatillon, then Admiral of France, ſent thither with Laudonniere for that purpoſe."

We have ſeen in the life of Hilliard that Shoote and Bettes are mentioned as painters in miniature. The former I ſuppoſe was John Shute, who ſtyles himſelf payñter and architecte in a book written and publiſhed by him in folio in 1563, called, The firſt and chief groundes of architecture, uſed in all the auncient and famous monyments, with a farther and more ample diſcourſe uppon the ſame, than hitherto hath been ſet out by any other. The cuts and figures in the book are in a better ſtyle than ordinary, the author, as he tells the queen in the dedication, having been ſent into Italy in 1550 by the duke of Northumberland, (in whoſe ſervice he had been) and who maintained him there in his ſtudies under the beſt architects. This perſon publiſhed another work, intituled, Two notable commentaries, the one of the original of the Turks, &c. the other of the warres of the Turke againſt George Scanderbeg, &c. tranſlated out of Italian into Engliſh. Printed

ed by Rowland Hall 1562. ‡ Of Bettes, there were two of the name, Thomas and John, who, with ſeveral other painters of that time, are mentioned by Meres in his ſecond part of Wit's Comſnonwealth, publiſhed in 1598 at London. "As learned Greece had theſe excellent artiſts renowned for their learning, ſo England has theſe, Hilliard, Jſaac Oliver and John de Cretz, very famous for their painting. So as Greece had moreover their painters, ſo in England we have alſo theſe, William and Francis Segar brethren, Thomas and John Bettes, Lockie, Lyne, Peake, Peter Cole, Arnolde, Marcus (Garrard) Jacques de Bruy, Cornelius, Peter Golchi, Hieronimo (de Bye) and Peter Vandevelde. As Lyſippus, Praxiteles and Pyrgoteles, were excellent engravers, ſo have we theſe engravers, Rogers, Chriſtopher Switzer and Cure." I quote this paſſage to prove to thoſe who learn one or two names by rote, that every old picture they ſee is not by Holbein, nor every miniature by Hilliard or Oliver. By Nicholas Lockie, mentioned in this quotation, there are ſeveral portraits; Dr. Rawlinſon had one of

‡ Ames's Hiſtory of Printing p. 217.

Dr.

Dr. John King biſhop of London, from which Simon Paſs engraved a plate. Stowe mentions one maſter Stickles, *an excellent architect* of that time, who, in 1596, built for a trial a pinnace that might be taken to pieces. Chron. p. 769.

In the liſt of new-year's gifts to queen Elizabeth, Bartholomew Campaine preſents one piece of cloth of ſilver ſtained with the half figure of Henry VIII. This might be the ſame perſon with one Campion, an engraver or chaſer of plate, whoſe name is preſerved in an old inventory of the goods, chattels, jewels, &c. of the earl of Suſſex taken at his death in 1583. There appear the names of the following artiſts; amongſt the gilt and ſilver plate, one great pair of gilt vaſes richly wrought by Derick; others made by Campion. Pots engraven and made by Martin, many other veſſels by Derick, and others by Metcalfe.

The contract for the tomb of this great peer, Thomas Radcliffe earl of Suſſex, lord chamberlain to the queen and a ſignal antagoniſt of Leiceſter, is ſtill extant. † He bequeathed

† This contract and inventory Vertue ſaw among the MSS. of Peter Leneve Norroy, a great antiquary.

I do

bequeathed 1500 *l.* to be expended on it; and his executors, Sir Chriſtopher Wray, lord chief juſtice of her majeſty's bench, Sir Gilbert Gerard, maſter of the rolls, Sir Thomas Mildmay and others, agreed with Richard Stevens for the making and ſetting it up in Boreham church in Suffolk, where it ſtill remains. The whole charge paid to Stephens for his part of the work was 292*l.*—12*s.*—8*d.* In a liſt of debts to be paid after the earl's death by his executors, one was to ‖ Horatio Palavicini; probably

I do not doubt but conſiderable diſcoveries might be made of our old artiſts, particularly architects, from papers and evidences in ancient families.

‖ Sir Horatio Palavicini was collector of the pope's taxes in England in the reign of queen Mary, on whoſe death, and the change of religion that enſued, he took the liberty of keeping the money himſelf, and ſettling in England, he built a houſe in the Italian ſtyle with a loggia to the ſecond ſtory with his arms over the portal, at Little Shelford; which was pulled down in 1750. He was alſo poſſeſſor of the eſtate and houſe at Baberham near Cambridge, where in the hall, on a coſtly chimney-piece, adorned with the hiſtory of Mutius Scævola, his arms ſtill remain. His family were buried at Baberham, as appears by ſeveral entries in the pariſh regiſter, where alſo is recorded the marriage of his widow (exactly a year and a day after Sir Horatio's death

probably for a ſet of hangings mentioned in the inventory; and 6 *l.*—16 *s.*—0 *d.* to Randolph the painter.

death who died July 6, 1600) thus, Mr. Oliver Cromwell and the lady Anne Palavicini were married July 7, 1601." In a MS. of Sir John Crew of Uthington, a great antiquary and herald, was this epitaph, corroborative of the tradition abovementioned;

Here lies Horatio Palavazene,
Who robb'd the pope, to lend the queene.
He was a theif: a theif! thou lyeſt;
For whie? he robb'd but Antichriſt.
Him Death wyth beſome ſwept from Babram
Into the boſome of oulde Abraham:
But then came Hercules with his club,
And ſtruck him down to Belzebub.

In Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. ii. p. 52. lib. 7. it is ſaid that when the lord Arundel was impriſoned by queen Elizabeth for accepting the title of count of the empire, he referred his caſe to Sir Horatio and others, adding theſe words in his letter to one of the principal lords of the court; "Neither doe I thinke England to be ſo unfurniſhed of experienced men, but that either Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Robert Sidney, Mr. Dyer, or ſome other, can witneſs a truth therein." But Palavicini had higher merit, as appears by an inconteſtable record; he was one of the commanders againſt the Spaniſh armada in 1588, and his portrait is preſerved amongſt thoſe heroes in the borders of the tapeſtry in the Houſe of Lords, engraved by Pine.

Richard Stephens above-mentioned was a Dutchman, and no common artiſt. He was a ſtatuary, painter and medalliſt. The figures on lord Suſſex's tomb were his work, and in a good ſtyle. In the family of Lumley are ſome portraits painted by him, * and among other accounts ſome of his receipts, as there are too in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Devonſhire, which makes it highly probable that the curious portraits at Hardwicke of queen Elizabeth, in a gown embroidered with ſea-moſters, the queen of Scots, both at whole length, and others, were painted by this Richard Stevens. But his beſt performances ſeem to have been his medals, which are bold and in good taſte. Mr. Bryan Fairfax had one with a lady's head in the dreſs of the times, and this legend,

Anna Poines, uxor Thomae Heneage; under the buſt, 1562. Ste. H. F. that is, Stephens, Hollandus, fecit.

* Particularly John lord Lumley 1590. When Jervaſe ſaw this picture (on which the name of Stephens appears) it was ſo well coloured, and ſo like the manner of Holbein, that he concluded many pictures aſcribed to that maſter are the works of Stephens.

Dr.

Dr. Meade had two more, one of William Parr marquis of Northampton; the other of Robert Dudley earl of Leiceſter, engraved in Evelyn's diſcourſe on Engliſh medals. The author ſays, that when Leiceſter quitted Holland, he cauſed ſeveral medals to be engraved, which he gave to his friends there. The medal in queſtion is remarkable for the impertinence of the reverſe; ſheep grazing, and a dog turning from them; under his feet, Invitus deſero—round, Non gregem ſed ingratos. Vertue mentions others by the ſame workman, of the earl of Pembroke and Sir Thomas Bodley.

Robert Adams, ſurveyor of the queen's buildings, ſeems to have been a man of abilities. I cannot ſpecify his works in architecture, but there are two plans extant that he publiſhed; one is a large print of Middleburgh dated 1588; the other, of the ſame date, is a ſmall parchment roll, drawn with the pen and intituled Thameſis Deſcriptio; ſhewing by lines croſs the river how far and from whence cannon-balls may obſtruct the paſſage of any ſhip upon an invaſion, from Tilbury to London, with proper diſtances marked for placing the guns.

Adams was buried in an iſle on the north ſide of the church of Greenwich with this inſcription; Egregio viro, Roberto Adams, operum regiorum ſuperviſori, architecturae peritiſſimo. ob. 1595. Simon Baſil, operationum regiarum contrarotulator hoc poſuit monumentum 1601.

Valerio Belli, called Valerio Vicentino, was a celebrated engraver of precious ſtones; Felibien ſays,* if his deſigns were equal to his execution, he might be compared with the ancients. He engraved caſkets and vaſes of rock chryſtal for pope Clement VII. and performed an infinite number of other works. He certainly was in England in this reign, and carved many portraits in cameo. Dr. Meade had a fine buſt of queen Elizabeth on onyx, † alto relievo in profile, and very large, by the hand of this maſter. I have a jewel by him, containing the head of lord treaſurer Burleigh, affixed to the back of an antique intaglia of Caracalla, and appendant to it, a ſmaller head of the queen, both in cameo on onyx. The duke of Devonſhire has ſeveral of his works: Two ‡

* Vol. ii. p. 121.

† Lord Charlemont bought it at Dr. Meade's ſale.

‡ The earl of Exeter has alſo one or two.

profiles

profiles in cameo of queen Elizabeth; another gem with the head of Edward VI. cameo on one ſide, and intaglia on the other; and two pieces of chryſtal with intaglias of ſeveral figures from the antique. To theſe two laſt is the ſculptor's name.

The ducheſs of Leeds has a ſingular curioſity by this hand; it is a pebble, in the ſhape of an oblong button; the upper ſide, brown, and very convex; the under, red and white, and ſomewhat concave. On the top is a profile of queen Elizabeth, incircled with foliage: at bottom, a knight, compleatly armed, in the act of tilting: on the back ground the front of a caſtle with columns; on the baſes of which are the ſyllables, Eſ—ſex; intimating the earl to be her majeſty's knight. In the muſeum Treviſanum is a medalion of him in marble, another ſmaller in copper; on the back of it Valerio Belli Vicentino, and a third of his ſon, dated 1572.

Among the Harleian MSS. is a liſt of jewels belonging to queen Elizabeth; Item, a flower of gold garniſhed with ſparkes of diamonds, rubyes and ophals, with an agath of her majeſtie's viſnomy and a perle pen-

dante with deviſes painted on it given by eight maſkers in the Chriſtmas week anno regni 24. The agate was perhaps the work of Vicentino.

It is certain, though the queen's oeconomy or want of taſte reſtrained her from affording great encouragement to genius, that the riches and flouriſhing ſituation of the country offered ſufficient invitations to the arts. Archbiſhop Parker retained in his ſervice at Lambeth a printer, a painter and more than one engraver. Of the latter, the principal were Berg or Hogen Berg, and Lyne above-mentioned, who was probably his painter too. Prefixed to the archbiſhop's life, printed at Lambeth, is a cut of his grace, inſcribed, R. Berg *f.* Above twenty books were publiſhed by the archbiſhop from his own printing-houſe: two only have this head. At Ruckolt in the pariſh of Low-layton in Eſſex (the manſion of the Hicks's) was a large genealogy of the kings of England from the conqueſt to queen Elizabeth, with all the line of France and England under theſe two titles, Linea Valeſiorum et Linea Angliae; at bottom the workman's name, Remigius Hogenbergius,

ſervus

ſervus D. Matt. archiep. Cant. ſculpſit 1574.*

There was another ſuch genealogic chart, intituled, Regnum Britanniae tandem plenè in Heptarchiam redactum a Saxonibus, expulſis Britannis, &c. A°. 686. executed in wood very plain and well: the name, Richardus Lyſle, ſervus D. Matth. archiep. Cant. ſculpſit 1574.

One Lyly too is mentioned as curious in copying the hands of ancient deeds, who was employed by the ſame patron.

D. John Twiſden, a divine of that age, was himſelf a performer in painting. He died at the age of eighty-five in 1588. Vertue was ſhowed a ſmall portrait of him neatly done by himſelf in oil on copper about forty years before his death.

But there was one gentleman in this reign, who really attained the perfection of a maſter, Sir Nathaniel Bacon † knight of the Bath, a younger ſon of the keeper, and half brother of the great Sir Francis.

* Ames's Typograph. antiqu. p. 540.

† He married the daughter of the famous Sir Thomas Greſham, by whom he was anceſtor of the preſent lord Townſhend. See Collins's Engliſh Baronets, vol. i. p. 4.

He travelled into Italy and ſtudied painting there; but his manner and colouring approaches nearer to the ſtyle of the Flemiſh ſchool. Peacham on limning p. 126, ſays, "But none in my opinion deſerveth more reſpect and admiration for his ſkill and practice in painting than maſter Nathaniel Bacon of Broome in Suffolk (younger ſon to the moſt honorable and bountifull-minded Sir Nicholas Bacon) not inferior in my judgment to our ſkillfulleſt maſters." At Culford where he lived, are preſerved ſome of his works, and at Gorhambury his father's ſeat, is a large picture in oil by him, of a cook maid with dead fowls, admirably painted, with great nature, neatneſs and luſtre of colouring. In the ſame houſe is a whole length of him by himſelf, * drawing on a paper; his ſword and pallet hung up: and a half length of his mother by him. At Redgrave-hall in Suffolk were two more

* His monument and buſt are in the church at Culford, with his pallet and pencils. There is another for him at Stiffkey in Norfolk, the inſcription on which may be ſeen in the appendix to Maſters's Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti coll. Camb. p. 85. It is ſaid in the note that Sir Nathaniel was famed for painting plants, and well ſkilled in their virtues.

pieces

pieces by the ſame hand, which afterwards paſſed into the poſſeſſion of Mr. Rowland Holt, the one, Ceres with fruit and flowers; the other, Hercules and the Hydra. In Tradeſcant's Muſeum was a ſmall landſcape, painted and given to him by Sir Nathaniel Bacon.

Of the engravers in the reign of queen Elizabeth, who were many and of merit, I ſhall ſay nothing here; Vertue having collected an ample and ſeparate account of them, which makes another volume of this work. I ſhall only mention now that that age reſembled the preſent in it's paſſion for portraits of remarkable perſons. Stowe in his annals ſpeaking of the duke d'Alencon, who came over to marry the queen, ſays "by this time his picture, ſtate and titles were advanced in every ſtationer's ſhop and many other public places."* The ſame author mentioning

* In the Cecil papers is a letter to the lord mayor of London dated July 21, 1561, telling him "The queen's majeſty underſtandeth that certain bookbinders and ſtationers utter certain papers wherein be printed the face of her majeſty and the king of Sweden; and although her highneſs is not miſcontented that either her own face or the ſaid king's ſhould be painted or portraited;

mentioning Sir Francis Drake's return, ſays, there were books, pictures and ballads publiſhed of him." In another point too there was a parity; auctions were grown into vogue, and conſequently, abuſe; the firſt orders for regulating them by the lord mayor were iſſued in that reign.

At the ſame period was introduced the cuſtom of publiſhing repreſentations of magnificent funerals. There is a long roll exhibiting the proceſſion at the obſequies of Sir Philip Sidney. It was (as is ſaid at the bottom of it) contrived and invented by Thomas Lant, * gentleman, ſervant to the ſaid

portraited; yet to be joined with the ſaid king or with any other prince that is known to have made any requeſt in marriage to her majeſty, is not to be allowed; And therefore your lordſhip ſhould ſend for the warden of the ſtationers or other wardens that have ſuch papers to ſell, and cauſe ſuch papers to be taken from them and packed up together in ſuch ſort as none of them be permitted to be ſeen in any place." The effect of this order appears from a paſſage in Evelyn's art of chalcography; "Had queen Elizabeth been thus circumſpect, there had not been ſo many vile copies multiplied from an ill painting; as being called in and brought to Eſſex-houſe, did for ſeveral years furniſh the paſtrymen with peels for the uſe of their ovens." p. 25.

* This Thomas Lant was portcullis pourſuivant: there are

ſaid honorable knight, and graven in copper by Derick or Theodor de Brie in the city of London 1587. It contains about thirty-four plates. Prefixed is a ſmall oval head of Mr. Lant. aet. 32. The ſame perſon wrote a treatiſe of Heraldry.

John Holland * of Wortwell eſq; living in 1586, is commended as an ingenious painter in a book called "The excellent Art of Painting," p. 20. But it is to the † ſame hand, to which this work owes many of it's improvements, that I am indebted for the diſcovery of a very valuable artiſt in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

The eaſtern ſide of the college of Caius and Gonville at Cambridge, in which are the Portae Virtutis et Sapientiae, was built in the years 1566 and 1567. Theſe are

are ſeveral copies extant in MS. of a treatiſe called, the Armoury of Nobility, firſt gathered by Robert Cook Clarencieux, corrected by Robert Glover, Somerſet herald, and laſtly augmented with the knights of the garter by Thomas Lant, portcullis, anno 1589. One copy of this work is in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Charles Parkin of Oxburgh in Norfolk, to whom I am obliged for this and [redacted] curious communications.

* See the pedigree of Holland in Blomfield's Norfolk.

† Mr. Gray.

joined

joined by two long walls to the Porta Humilitatis, and in theſe are two little Doric frontiſpieces, all, in appearance, of the ſame date, and ſhowing the Roman architecture reviving, with little columns and pilaſters, well enough proportioned in themſelves and neatly executed, though in no proportion to the building they were intended to adorn. In the entries of the college under the year 1575, are theſe words, "Porta, quae honoris dicitur et ad ſcholas publicas aperit, a lapide quadrato duroque extruebatur, ad eam ſcilicet formam et effigiem, quam Doctor Caius, dum viveret, architecto praeſcripſerat, elaborata." This gate coſt 128*l.*—9*s.*—0*d.* Dr. Caius died July 29, 1573. In the ſame year are theſe words, "Poſitum eſt Joh. Caio ex alabaſtro monumentum ſummi decoris et artificii eodem in ſacelli loco, quo corpus ejus antea ſepeliebatur: cui praeter inſculpta illius inſignia, et annotatum aetatis obituſque diem et annum (uti vivus executoribus ipſe praeceperat) duas tantummodo ſententias has inſcripſimus, *Vivit poſt funera Virtus—Fui Caius.*" This monument (made to ſtand upon the ground, but now raiſed much above the eye on a heavy

heavy baſe projecting from the wall) is a ſarcophagus with ribbed work and mouldings, ſomewhat antique, placed on a baſement ſupporting pretty large Corinthian columns of alabaſter, which uphold an entablature, and form a ſort of canopy over it. The capitals are gilt and painted with ugly ſcrolls and compartments, in the taſte of that reign. The charge of the founder's tomb was as follows;

For alabaſter and carriage	-		10—10—0
To Theodore and others for carving	—	—	33—16—5
To labourers	—	—	0—18—1
Charges extraordinary	—		2— 0—2

Then in the year 1576 are theſe words, "In atrio doctorio Caii columna erecta eſt, eique lapis miro artificio elaboratus, atque in ſe 60 horologia complexus imponitur, quem THEODORUS HAVEUS Clevienſis, artifex egregius, et inſignis architecturae profeſſor, fecit, et inſignibus eorum generoſorum, qui tum in collegio morabantur, depinxit, et velut monumentum ſuae erga collegium benevolentiae eidem dedicavit. Hujus in ſummitate lapidis conſtituitur ventilabrum

ventilabrum ad formam Pegaſi formatum." That column is now deſtroyed with all it's ſun-dials, but when Loggan did his views of the colleges, the pillar (though not the dials) was yet ſtanding.

In the college is a good portrait on board of Dr. Keys (not in profile) undoubtedly original, and dated 1563, aetatis ſuae 53, with Latin verſes and mottoes; and in the ſame room hangs an old picture (bad at firſt and now almoſt effaced by cleaning) of a man in a ſlaſhed doublet, dark curled hair and beard, looking like a foreigner, and holding a pair of compaſſes, and by his ſide a Polyedron, compoſed of twelve pentagons. This is undoubtedly Theodore Haveus himſelf, who, from all theſe circumſtances, ſeems to have been an architect, ſculptor, and painter, and having worked many years for Dr. Caius and the college, in gratitude left behind him his own picture.

In the gallery of Emanuel college, among other old pictures, is one with the following inſcription, recording an architect of the ſame age with the preceding; "Effigies Rodulphi Simons, architecti ſuâ aetate peritiſſimi, qui (praeter plurima aedificia ab eo

praeclarè facta) duo collegia, Emanuelis hoc, Sidneii illud, extruxit integrè: magnam etiam partem Trinitatis reconcinnavit ampliſſimè." head and hands, with a great pair of compaſſes.

In a book belonging to the jewel-office, in the poſſeſſion of the earl of Oxford, Vertue found mention "of a fair baſon and lair (Ewer) guilt, the baſon having in the buſhel (body) a boy beſtriding an eagle, and the ewer of the worke of Groteſtain, with gooſes heads antique upon the handle and ſpoute, weighing together xx ounces." In the ſame book was this memorandum, "remaining in the hands of Robert Brandon and Affabel Partrage, the queen's goldſmiths, four thouſand ounces of guilt plate, at five ſhillings and four-pence the ounce, in the ſecond year of the queen."

I ſhall conclude this reign and volume with what, though executed in the time of her ſucceſſor, properly relates to that of Elizabeth. In the earl of Oxford's collection was an office-book in which was contained an account of the charge of her majeſty's monument.

Paid

Paid to Maximilian Powtran	170 *l.*
Patrick Blackſmith —	95 *l.*
John de Critz, * the painter	100 *l.*
Beſides the ſtone, the whole coſt	965 *l.* †

* This is the painter mentioned above by Meres, and who, I ſuppoſe, gave the deſign of the tomb. One De Critz is often mentioned among the purchaſers of king Charles's pictures during the civil war, as will appear in the ſecond volume.

† This monument, and thoſe of the queen of Scots, and of the two young princeſſes Mary and Sophia, daughters of king James, coſt 3500 £.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

SUPPLE-

SUPPLEMENT.

BY the favour of the earl of Warwick, I am enabled to bring to light a very capital Artiſt, who deſigned or improved moſt of the principal and palatial edifices erected in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. though even his name was totally forgotten. I am empowered by the ſame condeſcenſion to point out a volume of drawings of that individual architect

JOHN THORPE,

who has left a folio of plans, now in lord Warwick's poſſeſſion. There are not many uprights, but ſeveral ground plans of ſome of the palaces and many of the ſeats of the nobility, extant, erected, or altered at that period. Of ſome he names himſelf the author — of others he either deſigned, ſuperviſed, or propoſed alterations — though, according to the negligence of that age, he is not circumſtantial in particulars. There are ground plans of Somerſet houſe; of

Buckhurſt houſe in Suſſex, an immenſe pile; of Woolaton; Copthall; Burleigh houſe; * Burleigh on the hill, (the duke of Buckingham's;) ſir Walter Cope's, now Hollandhouſe at Kenſington; Giddy hall in Eſſex; Audley inn; Ampthill (now called Houghton;) and Ampthill old houſe, another ſpacious palace in which Catherine of Arragon ſome time reſided, and of which he ſays he himſelf gave the plan of enlargement; and Kirby, of which he ſays he laid the firſt ſtone in 1570. The taſte of all theſe ſtately manſions was that baſtard ſtyle which intervened between Gothic and Grecian architecture; or which perhaps was the ſtyle that had been invented for the houſes of the nobility, when they firſt ventured, on the ſettlement of the kingdom after the termination of the quarrel between the Roſes, to abandon their fortified dungeons, and conſult convenience and magnificence; for I am perſuaded that what we

* Cliefden, built by the ſecond Villiers duke of Buckingham, was evidently copied in little from his father's ſeat Burleigh on the Hill.

call

call Gothic architecture was confined ſolely to religious buildings, and never entered into the decoration of private houſes. Thorpe's ornaments on the baluſtrades, porches, and outſides of windows are barbarous and ungracefull, and ſome of his vaſt windows advance outwards in a ſharp angle; but there is judgment in his diſpoſitions of apartments and offices, and he allots moſt ample ſpaces for halls, ſtaircaſes and chambers of ſtate. He appears alſo to have reſided at Paris, and even ſeems to have been employed there; at leaſt he gives alterations for the queen-mother's houſe '*Faber St. Germains*, which I ſuppoſe means the Luxembourg in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, and a plan of the houſe of monſieur Jammet (Zamet.)

There are ſeveral other ſmaller ſeats and houſes in the book, ſome with the names of the gentlemen for whom they were built. One, which he calls *Cannons*, *his Father Fakes* houſe; and another is a whimſical edifice deſigned for himſelf, and forming the initial letters of his name I T conjoined by a corridore [which I have expreſſed by

the dotted lines] and explained by this curious triplet,

> Theſe two letters I and T,
> Joined together as you ſee,
> Is meant for a dwelling houſe for me
>
> JOHN THORPE.

The volume however is a very valuable record of the * magnificence of our anceſtors, and preſerves memorials of many ſumptuous buildings, of which no other monument remains.

* There is a draught of the chapel of Henry VII. which he ſays coſt 14,000 *l.*

APPENDIX.

THIS INDENTURE * made the day of in the fourth yere of our ſovrain lord kyng Herry the 8th betwyne Mr. Robert Hacomblein provoſt of the kynge's college royal at Cambrydge and the ſcolers of the ſame with the adviſe and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke ſurveyor of the kynge's works there on the oon partye, and John Waſtell maſter maſon of the ſeid works, and Herry Severick oon of the wardens of the ſame on the other partye. witneſſeth that hit is covenaunted bargayned and agreed betwyne the partyes aforeſaid, That the ſeid John Waſtell and Herry Severick ſhall make and ſett up, or cawſe to be made and ſet up at ther coſts and charges, a good, ſuer, and ſufficient vawte for the grete churche there, to be workmanly wrought, made, and ſett up after the beſt handlyng and forme of good workmanſhip, according to a plat thereof made and ſigned with the hands of the lords ex-

* See page 168.

ecutors to the kyng of moſt famous memorye Herry the 7th, whoſe ſowle God pardon. And the ſeid John Waſtell and Herry Severick ſhall provide and fynde at ther coſt and charges, as moche good ſufficyent able ſton of Weldon quarryes, as ſhall ſuffiſe for the performing of all the ſaid vawte, together with lyme, ſound ſcaffoldyng, cinctores, moles, ordinaunces, and evry other thyng concerning the ſame vawtyng, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of ſtuff and ordinances that ſhall be required or neceſſary for the performance of the ſame; except the ſeid Mr. Provoſt and ſcolers with the aſſent of the ſeid ſurveyors granted to the ſeid John Waſtell and Herry Severick for the great coſt and charge that they ſhall be at in remevyng the great ſcaffold there, to have therefore in recompence at the end and performyng of the ſeid vawte the timber of two ſevereyes of the ſeid grete ſcaffold by them remeved to their own uſe and profight; And on that the ſeid John Waſtell and Herry Severick ſhall have duryng the tyme of the ſeid vawtyng, certeyne ſtuffs and neceſſaryes there, as gynnes, whels, cables, hobynatts ſawes and ſuch other

other as ſhall be delyvered unto them by indenture; And they to delyver the ſame agayne unto the college there at the end of the ſeid worke. The ſaid John Waſtell and Herry Severick granten alſo and bynde themſelves by theſe covenauntes, that they ſhall performe and clerely fynyſh all the ſeid vawte within the time and ſpace of three yeeres next enſuyng after the tyme of their begynnyng upon the ſame; And for the good and ſuer performying of all the premyſſes as is afore ſpecyfyed, The ſeid Provoſt and ſcolers covenaunt and graunte to pay unto the ſeid John Waſtell and Herry Severick 1200 *l.* that is to ſey, for every ſeverey in the ſeid church 100 *l.* to be payd in forme followyng, from tyme to tyme as moche money as ſhall ſuffiſe to pay the maſons and others rately after the numbre of workmen; And alſo for ſton in ſuche tymes and in ſuche forme as the ſeid John Waſtell and Herry Severick ſhall make their bargaynes for ſton, ſo that they be evyn paid with 100 *l.* at the end of the performyng every ſeverey; and if there remayne ony parte of the ſeid 100 *l.* at the fynilhing of the ſeid ſeverey, then the ſeid

Mr. Provoſt and ſcholers to pay unto them the ſurpluſage of the ſeid 100*l.* for that ſeverey, and ſo from tyme to tyme unto all the ſeid 12 ſevereys be fully and perfyttly made and performed.

THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of Auguſt in the fifth yere of the reign of our ſoverayn lord kyng Herry the 8th, betwene Mr. Robert Haccombleyn provoſt of the kynge's college royal in Cambrydge and the ſcolers of the ſame with the advice and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke ſurveyor of the kynge's works there on the oon partye, and John Waſtell maſter maſon of the ſeid works on the other partye, witneſſeth, That it is covenaunted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the partyes aforeſeid, that the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall make and ſett up or cawſe to be made and ſett upp at his propre coſts and charges the vawting of two porches of the newe churche of the kynge's college aforeſeid with Yorkſhere ſton, And alſo the vawtes of ſeven chapels in the body of the ſame churche with Weldon ſton accordynge to a plat made as well for the ſame

ſame ſeven chapels as for the ſeid two porches; and nine other chapels behynd the quyre of the ſeid churche with like Weldon ſton to be made of a more courſe worke, as appereth by a platte for the ſame made; And that the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall make and ſett up or cawſe to be made and ſett up at his coſt and charge the batelments of all the ſeid porches and chapels with Weldon ſton accordynge to another platte made for the ſame remayning with all the other plattes afore reherſed in the kepynge of the ſeid ſurveyor ſigned with the hands of the lords the kynge's executors; All the ſeid vawtes and batelments to be well and workmanly wrought, made and ſett up after the beſt handlynge and forme of good workmanſhyp, and according to the platts afore ſpecifyed; The foreſeid John Waſtell to provide and fynde at his coſt and charge not only as moche good ſufficient and hable ſton of Hampole quarryes in Yorkſhere as ſhall ſuffiſe for the performance of the ſeid two porches, but alſo as moche good ſufficient and hable ſton of Weldon quarryes, as ſhall ſuffiſe for the performyng of all the ſeid chapels and batelments, together with

with lyme, ſand, ſcaffoldyng, mookes, ordinaunces, and every other thyng concernyng the fynyſhing and performyng of all the ſeid vawtes and batelments, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of ſtuff and ordinaunce as ſhall be requyred or neceſſary for performance of the ſame: provided alwey that the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall kepe continually 40 fre-maſons workyng upon the ſame. The ſeid John Waſtell graunteth alſo and byndeth hymſelf by theſe preſents to performe and clerely fynyſh all the ſeid vawtes and batelments on this ſide the ffeeſte of the Nativitie of Seynt John Baptiſte next enſuyng after the date hereof; And for the good and ſuer performyng of all theſe premyſſes, as is afore ſpecyfyed the ſeid provoſt and ſcolers granten to pay unto the ſeid John Waſtell for ſton and workmanſhip of every the ſeid porches with al other charge as is afore reherſed 25 *l.*

And for evry of the ſeid ſeven chapels in the body of the churche after the platt of the ſeid porches 20 *l.*

And for vawtyng of evry of the other nine chapels behind the quyre to be made of more courſe work 12 *l.*

And

And for ſton and workmanſhip of the batelments of all the ſeid chapels and porches devided into twenty ſevereys evry ſeverey at 100 *l.*

And for all and ſingler covenaunts afore reherſed of the partye of the ſeid John Waſtell wele and truly to be performed and kept, he byndeth himſelf, his heirs and executors in 400 *l.* of good and lawfull money of England to be paid unto the ſeid Mr. Provoſt, ſcolers and ſurveyor at the ffeeſte of the Purification of our bleſſed Lady next comyng after the date of theſe preſentes; And in lyke wiſe for all and ſingler covenauntes afore reherſed of the party of the ſeid Mr. Provoſt, ſcolers and ſurveyor wele and truly to be performed and kept, they bynde themſelves, their ſucceſſors and executors in 400 *l.* of good and lawfull money of England to be paid unto the ſeid John Waſtell at the ſeid ffeeſte of the Purification of our bleſſed Lady, In witneſſe whereof the parties aforeſeid to theſe preſent indentures interchangeably have ſett their ſeales, the day and yere above wryten.

THIS

APPENDIX.

THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of January in the fourth yere of the reign of our ſoverayn lord kyng Herry the 8th, betwene Mr. Robert Hacombleyn provoſt of the kynge's college royal in Cambrydge and the ſcolers of the ſame with the advice and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke ſurveyor of the kynge's works there on the oon partye, and John Waſtell maſter maſon of the ſeid works on the other partye, witneſſeth, That it is covenaunted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the partyes aforeſeid, that the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall make and ſett up or cawſe to be made and ſett up at his propre coſts and charges the fynyalls of the buttraſſes of the grete churche there, which be 21 in numbre; the ſeid fynyalls to be well and workmanly wrought made and ſett up after the beſt handelyng and forme of good workmanſhip, according to the platts conceyved and made for the ſame, and according to the fynyall of oon butteraſſe which is wrought and ſett up, except that all theſe new fynyalls ſhall be made ſum what larger in certayne places, according to the mooles for the

the ſame conceyved and made; Alſo it is covenaunted, bargayned and agreed betweene the partyes aforeſeid that the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall make and ſett up or cawſe to be made and ſett up at his propre coſt and charges the fynyſhing and performying of oon towre at oon of the corners of the ſeid churche, as ſhall be aſſigned unto him by the ſurveyor of the ſeid works; all the ſeid fynyſhing and performyng of the ſeid towre with fynyalls, ryſaat gabbletts, batelments, orbys, or croſſe quarters, and every other thynge belongyng to the ſame to be well and workmanly wrought made and ſett up after the beſt handelyng and forme of goode workmanſhip, accordyng to a plat thereof made remayning in the kepyng of the ſeid ſurveyor. The ſeid John Waſtell to provide and fynde at his coſt and charge as moche good ſuffycyent and able ſton of Weldon quarryes, as ſhall ſuffiſe for the performying of the fynyalls of all the ſeid buttraſſes, and alſo for the performying and fynyſhing of oon of the towres, as is afore ſpecifyed, together with lyme, ſand, ſcaffolding, mooles, ordinances and evry other thyng concernyng the fynyſhyng and performyng of all the buttraſſes and towre

aforeſeid,

aforeſeid, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of ſtuff and ordenances as ſhall be required or neceſſary for performance of the ſame, except the ſeid Mr. Provoſt, ſcolers and ſurveyor granten to lend to the ſeid John Waſtell ſum parte of old ſcaffoldyng tymbre, and the uſe of certayne ſtuff and neceſſaryes there, as gynnes, whels, cables, hobynatts, ſawes, and ſuch other as ſhall be delyvered to him by indenture; and the ſeid John Waſtell to delyvre the ſame agayne unto the ſeid ſurveyor as ſone as the ſeid buttraſſes and towre ſhall be performed. The ſeid John Waſtell graunteth alſo and byndeth himſelf by theſe covenaunts to perform and clerely fynyſh all the ſeid buttraſſes and towre on this ſide the feeſt of the Annunciation of our Bleſſed Lady next enſuyng after the date hereof; And for the good and ſure performyng of all theſe premyſſes, as is afore ſpecifyed, the ſeid Provoſt and ſcholers covenaunten and granten to paye unto the ſeid John Waſtell for the performyng of evry buttraſſe 6*l.*—13*s.*—4*d.* which amownteth for all the ſeid buttraſſes 140*l.* and for performyng of the ſeid towre 100*l.* to be paid in forme followyng; That is to ſey,

ſey, from tyme to tyme as moche money as ſhall ſuffiſe to pay the maſons and other laborers rately after the numbre of workmen; And alſo for ſton at ſuche tymes and in ſuche form as the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall make his proviſyon or receyte of the ſame ſton, from tyme to tyme as the caſe ſhall requyre; provided alway that the ſeid John Waſtell ſhall kepe continually ſixty fre-maſons working upon the ſame works, as ſone as ſhall be poſſible for him to call them in by vertue of ſuche commiſſyon as the ſeid ſurveyor ſhall delyvre unto the ſeid John Waſtell for the ſame entent; and in caſe ony maſon or other laboror ſhall be found unprofytable or of ony ſuche ylle demeanor whereby the worke ſhould be hyndred or the company myſordred, not doing their duties accordyngly as they ought to doo, then the ſeid ſurveyor to indevor himſelf to performe them by ſuch wayes as hath byn there uſed before this time; And alſo the forenamed Mr. Provoſt, ſcolers and ſurveyor ſhall fynde as moche iron worke for the fynyalls of the ſeid buttraſſes as ſhall amounte to five ſhillings for every buttraſſe; that is in all 4 *l.*—5 *s.* And whatſoever

ſoever iron werke ſhall be occupyed and ſpent about the ſeid werkes and for ſuertie of the ſame above the ſeid five ſhillings for a buttraſſe, the ſeid John Waſtell to bere hytt at his own coſt and charge; And for all and ſinguler covenaunts afore reherſed of the partie of the ſeid John Waſtell wele and truly to be performed and kepte, he byndeth himſelf, his heirs and executors in 300 *l.* of good and lawfulle money of England to be paid unto the ſeid Mr. Provoſt, ſcolers and ſurveyor at the feſte of Eſter next comyng after the date of thes preſentes; And in lyke wiſe for all and ſinguler covenauntes afore reherſed of the partie of the ſeid Provoſt, ſcolers and ſurveyor well and truly to be performed and kepte, they bynde them their ſucceſſor and executors in 300 *l.* of good and lawfulle money of Englande to be paid unto the ſeid John Waſtell at the ſeid ffeſte of Eſter, in witneſſe whereof the parties aforeſeid to this preſent indenture interchangeably have ſett their ſeales the day and yere above wryten.

THIS INDENTURE made the thirde day of the moneth of May in the yere of the reigne of Henry the 8th by the

the Grace of God Kyng of England and Ffraunce, Defendor of the Ffeyth and Lorde of Ireland the eightene, betwene the Right Worſhepfulle maſters Robert Hacombleyn Doctor of Divinitie and Provoſt of the Kynge's college in the univerſitie of Cambridge, William Holgylle clerke maſter of the hoſpitalle of Seint John Baptiſte called the Savoy beſydes London, and Thomas Larke clerke Archdeacon of Norwyche on that oon partie, And Ffraunces Wylliamſon of the paryſſhe of Seint Olyff in Southwerke in the countie of Surrey glaſyer, and Symond Symonds of the paryſſhe of Seint Margaret of the towne of Weſtminſter in the countie of Middleſex on that other partie, witneſſeth, That it is covenaunted condeſcended and aggreed betwene the ſeid parties by this indenture in manner and forme folowing, that is to wete, the ſeid Ffraunces Wylliamſon and Symond Symondes covenaunte, graunte and them bynde by theſe preſents that they ſhalle at their owne propre coſtes and charges wele, ſuerly, clenely, workmanly, ſubſtantyally curyouſly and ſufficyently glaſe and ſett up or cauſe to be glaſed and ſett up

foure windowes of the upper ſtory of the great churche within the Kynge's college of Cambridge, that is to wete, two wyndowes on the oon ſyde of the ſeid churche, And the other two wyndowes on the other ſyde of the ſame church with good, clene, ſure and perfyte glaſſe and oryent colors and imagery of the ſtory of the old lawe and of the newe lawe after the forme, maner, goodenes, curyouſitie and clenelyneſs in every poynt of the glaſſe windowes of the Kynge's newe chapell at Weſtmynſter; And alſo accordyngly and after ſuche maner as oon Barnard Fflower glaſyer late deceaſed by indenture ſtode bounde to doo; And alſo accordyngly to ſuche patrons otherwyſe called vidimus, as by the ſeid maſters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke or by any of them to the ſeid Ffraunces Wylliamſon and Symond Symondes or to either of them ſhal be delyvered, for to forme glaſſe and make by the foreſeid foure wyndowes of the ſeidchurche; And the ſeid Ffraunces Wylliamſon and Symond Symondes covenaunte and graunte by theſe preſentes that two of the ſeid wyndowes ſhall be clerely ſett up and fully fynyſhed after the fourme aboveſeid

aboveſeid within two yeres next enſuyng after the date of theſe preſentes, And that the two other wyndowes reſydue of the ſeid foure wyndowes ſhal be clerely ſett up and fully fynyſhed within three yeres next enſuyng after that —— without any furder or longer delay; Furdermore the ſeid Ffraunces Wylliamſon and Symond Symondes covenaunte and graunte by theſe preſentes that they ſhalle ſtrongely and ſuerley bynde all the ſeid foure wyndowes with double bands of leade for defence of great wyndes and other outragious wethers; And the ſeid maſters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke covenaunte and graunt by theſe preſentes that the ſeid Ffraunces Wylliamſon and Symond Symondes ſhall have for the glaſſe, workmanſhip and ſettyng up of every foot of the ſeid glaſſe by them to be provided, wrought, and ſett up after the forme aboveſeid ſixtene pence ſterlinges; And where the ſeid Ffraunces Wylliamſon and Symond Symondes, and alſo John a More of the paryſſhe of Seint Margarett of the towne of Weſtmynſter in the countie of Middleſex ſquyer, John Kellet of the ſame paryſſhe towne and

countie yoman, Garrard Moynes of the paryſſhe of Seint Olyffe in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey joyner, and Henry Johnſon of the paryſſhe of Seint Clement Danes without the barres of the newe temple of London in the countie of Middleſex cordwaner by their writtyng obligatory of the date of theſe preſentes be holden and bounde to the ſeid maſters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke in the ſumme of two hundred pounds ſterlinges to be paid at the ffeeſte of the Nativitie of Seint John Baptiſte, now next comyng after the date of theſe preſentes, as in the ſame writtyng obligatory more plainly at large doothe appere; Nevertheleſſe the ſame maſters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executors covenaunte and graunte by theſe preſentes, that yf the ſaid Ffraunces Williamſon and Symond Symondes on their part wele and truly performe, obſerve, fulfille and kepe all and every the covenaunts, bargaynes, graunts, and promyſes and agreements aforeſeid in manner and fourme as is above declared, That then the ſame writtyng obligatory

gatory ſhal be voyd and had for nought, And elſe it ſhall ſtande in fulle ſtrengthe and effect. In witneſſe whereof the ſeid parties to theſe indentures interchangeably have ſett their ſealles.

YOVEN the day and yere aboveſeid.

THIS INDENTURE made the laſte day of the moneth of Aprelle in the yere of the reigne of Henry the 8th by the Grace of God Kyng of England and Ffraunce, Defendor of the Ffeyth and Lorde of Ireland the eightene, betwene the Right Worſhepfulle maſters Robert Hacombleyn Doctor of Divinitie and provoſt of the kynge's college in the univerſitie of Cambridge, maſter William Holgylle clerke maſter of the hoſpitalle of Seint John Baptiſte called the Savoy beſydes London, and maſter Thomas Larke clerke archdeacon of Norwych on that oon partie, and Galyon Hoore of the paryſſh of Seint Mary Magdelen next Seint Mary Overey in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey glaſyer, Richard Bownde of the paryſſhe of Seint Clement Danes without the barres of the new temple of London in the countie of Middle-

ſex glaſyer, Thomas Reve of the paryſſhe of Seint Sepulcre without newgate of London glaſyer, and James Nycholſon of Seint Thomas Spyttell or Hoſpitalle in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey glaſyer on that other parties witneſſeth, That it is covenaunted condeſcended and aggreed between the ſeid parties by this indenture in manner and forme folowing, that is to wete, The ſeid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholſon covenaunte, graunte and them bynde by theſe preſentes that they ſhalle at their own propre coſtes and charges well, ſuerly, clenely, workmanly, ſubſtantyally, curiouſly and ſufficiently glaſe and ſette up, or cauſe to be glaſed and ſett up eightene wyndowes of the upper ſtory of the great churche within the kynge's college of Cambridge, whereof the wyndowe in the eſte ende of the ſeid churche to be oon, and the windowe in the weſte ende of the ſame churche to be another; And ſo ſeryatly the reſydue with good, clene, ſure and perfyte glaſſe and oryent colors and imagery of the ſtory of the olde lawe and of the newe lawe after the forme, maner, goodenes, curiouſytie, and clenelyneſ, in every

every poynt of the glaſſe wyndowes of the Kynge's newe chapell at Weſtminſter; and alſo accordyngly and after ſuche maner as oon Barnard Fflower glaſyer late deceaſed by indenture ſtode bounde to doo, that is to ſey, ſix of the ſeid wyndowes to be clerely ſett up and fynyſſhed after the forme aforeſeid within twelve moneths next enſuyng after the date of theſe preſentes; And the twelve wyndowes reſidue to be clerely ſett up and fully fynyſſhed within foure yeres next enſuyng after the date of theſe preſentes; And that the ſeid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholſon ſhalle ſuerly bynde all the ſeid windowes with double bands of leade for defence of greate wyndes and outragious wetheringes; Furdermore the ſeid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nycholſon covenaunte and graunte by theſe preſentes that they ſhall wele and ſuffycyently ſett up at their owne propre coſtes and charges all the glaſſe that now is there redy wrought for the ſeid wyndowes at ſuch tyme and whan as the ſeid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholſon ſhal be aſſigned and appoynted by the ſeid maſters Robert Haccombleyne,

combleyne, Wylliam Holgylle, and Thomas Larke or by any of them; And wele and ſuffyciently ſhall bynde all the ſame with double bands of leade for the defence of wyndes and wetheringes, as is aforeſeid after the rate of two pence every ffoote; And the ſeid maſters Robert Haccombleyne, Wylliam Holgylle and Thomas Larke covenaunte and graunte by theſe preſentes, That the foreſeid Galyon, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholſon ſhall have for the glaſſe workmanſhip and ſetting up twenty foot of the ſeid glaſſe by them to be provided, wrought, and ſett up after the forme aboveſeid eightene pence ſterlinges; Alſo the ſeid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholſon covenaunte and graunte by theſe preſentes that they ſhalle delyver or cauſe to be delyvered to Ffraunces Williamſon of the paryſſhe of Seint Olyff in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey glaſyer, and to Symond Symondes of the paryſſhe of Seint Margarete of Weſtmynſter in the countie of Middleſex glaſyer, or to either of them good and true patrons, otherwyſe called a vidimus, for to fourme glaſſe and make

make by other four wyndowes of the ſeid churche, that is to ſey, two on the oon ſyde thereof and two on the other ſyde, whereunto the ſeid Ffraunces and Symond be bounde, the ſeid Ffraunces and Symond paying to the ſeid Galyon, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholſon for the ſeid patrons otherwyſe called a vidimus as moche redy money as ſhal be thought reſonable by the foreſeid maſters William Holgylle and Thomas Larke; And where the ſeid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reeve and James Nycholſon by their writtyng obligatory of the date of theſe preſentes be holden and bounden to the ſeid maſters Robert Haccombleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke, in the ſome of five hundred markes ſterlinges to be paide at the ffeiſte of the nativitie of Seint John Baptiſte now next comyng after the date of theſe preſentes, as in the writtyng obligatory more plainly at large may appere; Nevertheleſſe the ſame maſters Robert Haccombleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executors wille and graunte by theſe preſentes that yf the ſaid Galyon Hoone, Richarde, Bownde,

Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholſon well and truly performe, obſerve, fullfille and kepe all and every the covenauntes, bargaynes, graunts, promyſes and aggreementes aforeſeid in maner and forme as is above declared, That then the ſeid writtyng obligatory ſhall be voyde and had for nought, and elſe it ſhall ſtand in full ſtrength and effect; In witneſſe whereof the ſeid parties to theſe indentures interchangeably have ſett their ſealles.

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